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COVER: In the winter of 1805-06 when Georg von Langsdorff sketched the Imperial Russian-American Company's headquarters at Sitka on Norfolk Sound, American traders and whalers had already begun penetrating the Tsar's Russian-American territory. In the following decades Yankces anchored with increasing regularity in the small Sitka bay, negotiated at the fortress on the hill, and loaded furs at the warehouses on the neck of land stretching into the bay. For a new perspective on the growth of commerce in Russian America leading to the purchase of Alaska, turn to page 5. *Etching from volume two of the German edition of Langsdorff's Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World . . . , courtesy Bancroft Library.*

California Historical Quarterly

VOLUME LIV SPRING 1975 NO. I

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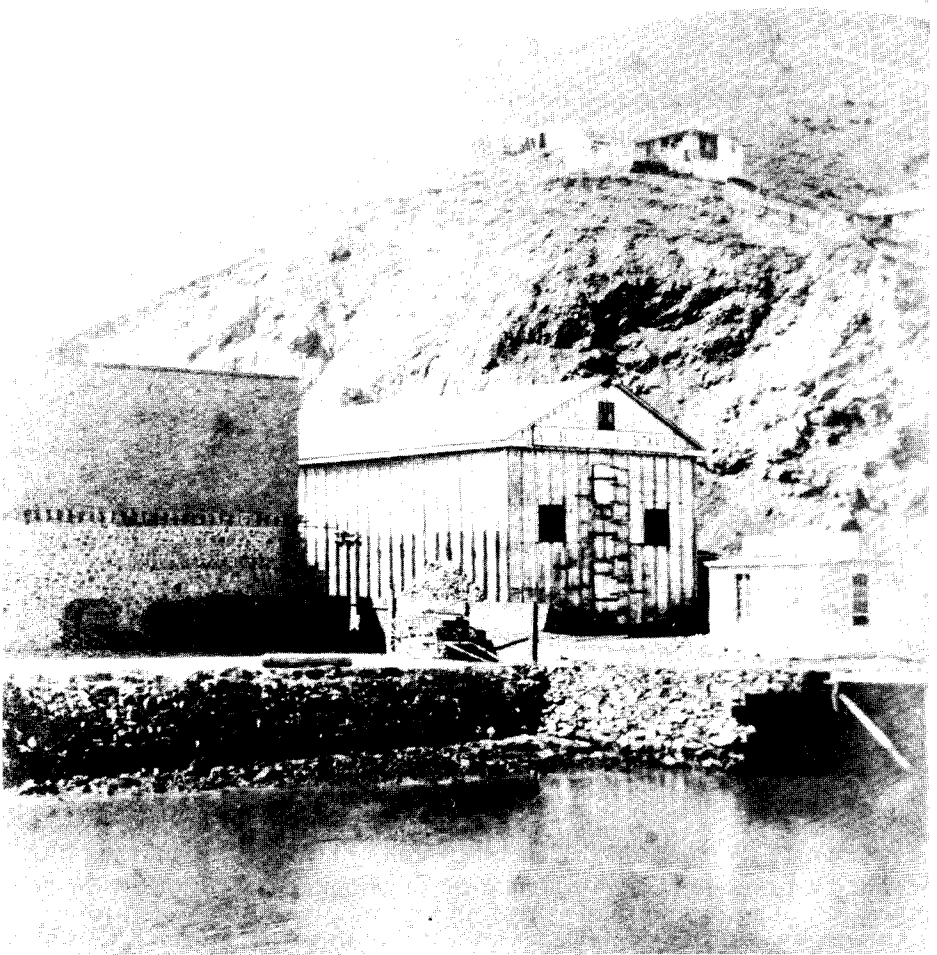
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Only five years after the American-Russian Commercial Company began selling ice hauled from Sitka to residents of San Francisco, the company's unassuming warehouse below the east face of Telegraph Hill at Clark's Point was photographed in 1856 by an anonymous photographer. Expanding commercial involvement in the foreign territory facilitated and, perhaps, catalyzed the cession of Alaska to the United States in 1867.

“Seward’s Folly”?: American Commerce in Russian America and the Alaska Purchase

HOWARD I. KUSHNER

*Assistant professor of history at State University of New York at Fredonia
and author of numerous articles on Russian-American relations in the nineteenth century*

WHILE THE 1867 ALASKA PURCHASE proved to be a valuable cession to the United States, American historical scholarship on the subject almost unanimously ascribes the favorable conclusion to fortuity rather than American foresight. The reasons for the cession, popularly known as “Seward’s Folly,” are usually ascribed to Secretary of State William Henry Seward’s lust after territory¹ or Russia’s desire to dispose of an increasingly burdensome possession² or a combination of both. Nowhere, however, does one find the argument that Americans, except perhaps Seward, desired the territory because of its economic value. The traditional picture of popular reaction to Seward’s purchase is one of surprise and disbelief that the United States government would purchase all that ice.

The American-Russian Commercial Company of San Francisco, however, never disputed the wisdom of such a purchase. Ice was a valuable commodity in the 1850’s, and the American-Russian Commercial Company had been selling Russian America’s ice since 1851 to inhabitants of the western coasts of the United States and South America. Moreover, fur traders, whalers, and fishermen had been tapping the natural resources of Russian America for decades. While twentieth-century scholars may be misled concerning the value of Russia’s North American holdings, many entrepreneurs in the decade before the Civil War viewed the Russian possession as anything but worthless. American commercial interests in Russian America, in fact, grew to such proportions by the 1850’s that key Russian policy-makers argued to Tsar Nicholas that he should dispose of his colony, not because it was worthless, but rather because its great potential value to American citizens would eventually lead to conflicts with the United States for possession.

The period from 1852 until the end of the Civil War saw old interests in Russian America sustained and new interests born. The whaling industry, for instance, continued to reap huge profits from hunting in the coastal waters which fell under the nominal jurisdiction of the Russian-American Company,³ the Russian commercial company granted exclusive trading control over Alaska

and Russian America since the late eighteenth century. The incorporation of Oregon and California into the United States provided a new, more solid base for American penetration of the Russian possession. In San Francisco of the 1850's, increased interest in Russian America was born of the hysteria and hope of instant fortune responsible for countless enterprising commercial schemes. The Argonauts and other settlers on the United States' West Coast understood their debt to land expansionists of the past fifty years, and there were probably few in America by 1850 who did not accept as an article of faith the proposition that all North America would eventually become part of the United States. The Russian and British possessions to the north could not avoid the fate of the former Spanish and French holdings in North America. Indeed, by 1850, as uneasy as some individuals may have become about the relations within the Union itself, most citizens probably looked to the future with an eye to expansion rather than disunion.⁴

In 1852 the United States' economy was growing rapidly. While a rather sharp recession in 1857 seemed to slow this pace, the economic turndown was much less serious than the 1837 panic. Industrial growth accelerated beyond its record of the previous decade, and by the middle 1850's the Northeast was a distinctive manufacturing region. As the 1840's heralded the beginning of the end of eastern dependence on the southern cash crop of cotton, the 1850's saw a new and firm economic interdependence between the Northeast and the West. Railroad construction in the 1850's, greater than in all previous decades combined, served to connect more securely than ever before the highly populated East with the vigorous young West. The facility of East-West transport, when combined with steadily increasing agricultural prices, proved that the new alliance was indeed worthwhile.⁵

Cementing the East-West economic alliance had positive political effects, too, as the ancient antagonism between the territorial expansionists of the West and the commercial expansionists of the East began to disappear. Political leaders like William Henry Seward of New York came to believe that certain territorial expansion could bring immense benefit to the maritime East. By 1859, as the East and West moved closer economically and politically, Californians and Oregonians, as well as northeasterners, were calling for annexation of Russian America.

Stimulated by the addition of California to the Union and European troubles in the Crimea, New England ship construction boomed in the fifties. Manufacturing exports showed substantial increases, and the total volume of all exports increased dramatically. Nevertheless, prosperity in the Northeast, and United States export trade in general, remained closely tied to European prosperity. The specie drain on England and France which resulted from the Crimean War caused a crisis in American specie reserves by 1857, and from October to December of that year New York bankers were forced to suspend all specie payments.⁶ During such times of financial setbacks, many Americans looked outward, and interest in Russian America grew to surprising heights from 1857 to 1861.

Meanwhile, in the Pacific Northwest in the 1850's the whaling boom continued. Northwest coast whale fishing maintained high profits for another dec-

ade. The main stimulus to this sustained profitability was the successful hunting of bowhead whales in the Okhotsk Sea, along the Kamchatka Coast, and in the Bering Strait.⁷ Russians in the area of Okhotsk reported that from 1850 to 1860 over 100 Yankee vessels fished there annually. Some Russian reports estimated that the total number of vessels annually fishing in the three areas ranged between 500 and 600. Depending upon which source one accepts, between 300 and 366 Yankee whalers could be found in these waters in the year 1857,⁸ and the total value of whale oil and bone imports reached the highest levels in the history of whale fishery in 1857. In the ten-year period ending in 1860, \$89.3 million of whale products were imported by United States whalers, an increase of \$18.7 million over the previous decade.⁹ This increase is especially impressive when one realizes that the years 1857 to 1860 witnessed a severe economic downturn which resulted in decreased investment in whaling and thus in fewer active whaling vessels.

The 1850's were a time of renewed interest in other enterprises in Russian America, as well. During this decade United States citizens' concern about the Russian possessions surpassed even that of the days of the lucrative sea-otter trade. The failure of the Hudson's Bay Company to keep the Russian Americans supplied with food, as required by the 1840 agreement between British and Russian companies, aided Yankee commercial penetration, and in 1848 the Russian-American Company refused to renew the Hudson's Bay Company's franchise to supply foodstuffs and supplies to the Russian colonies in North America.¹⁰ While the inflated prices of the late 1840's made it less profitable for San Franciscans to supply the Russians than to feed and clothe the newly-arrived fortune seekers, by 1851 the high prices of the gold rush had declined. Supplying the Russian possessions seemed to many Americans a new chance to strike it rich.

One such supply venture was the American-Russian Commercial Company (not to be confused with the Russian-American Company, chartered in Russia) which was founded in 1851 by San Francisco's most prominent attorneys and businessmen. The company's list of stockholders could be viewed with equal validity as a social directory of San Francisco in the early 1850's. Its president, Beverley C. Sanders, a lifetime Whig who had married Daniel Webster's niece, was appointed collector of the port of San Francisco by President Millard Fillmore in 1852.¹¹ Sanders' banking partner, Charles J. Brenham, a large stockholder in the Commercial Company, was mayor of San Francisco from 1851 to 1853.¹² William Burling, who served as the company's secretary, joined with William McPherson Hill, another stockholder, to form the brokerage firm of Burling and Hill in 1849.¹³ Samuel J. Hensley, a holder of a substantial number of shares in the American-Russian Commercial Company, had arrived in California in 1843 to work as a clerk for Captain John Sutter, and by 1850 Hensley was one of the richest men in California.¹⁴ Abel Guy, the owner of the largest block of Commercial Company stock, was a wealthy attorney in San Francisco.¹⁵ Archibald C. Peachy, a renowned California attorney, held a large number of shares. Brenham and Peachy often joined in real estate ventures with John L. Folsom, who had written an official government report at Secretary of State J. Clayton's request in 1849, urging the opening of Russian America to Yankee commerce.¹⁶

The American-Russian Commercial Company made its first contract with the



agent of the Russian-chartered Russian-American Company in San Francisco for 250 tons of ice to be shipped from Sitka at \$75 per ton (or \$18,750). In February, 1852, the American ship *Bacchus* arrived in San Francisco loaded with the ice. In October the Commercial Company succeeded in persuading the Russians to agree to reduce the price of future shipments of ice to \$35 a ton with the stipulation that the American company would take at least 1000 tons per year.¹⁷

During the Crimean War of the mid-1850's the Russian-American Company was hard-pressed for general supplies as well as for articles of daily necessity. Hence, the Russian company requested the American-Russian Commercial Company to supply these articles, which the San Francisco firm was happy to do for the price of a new and more favorable contract. In order to negotiate this contract Beverley Sanders travelled to St. Petersburg, after journeying to Washington in March, 1854, to obtain letters of recommendation from President



Shortly after the acquisition of Russian America in 1867, Harpers New Monthly Magazine featured an article entitled "Our New Northwest" which attempted to familiarize its readership with the geography, history, people and customs of the new territory. This map acquainted Americans with the Russian, British, and American possessions immediately before the purchase. New Archangel is the name given by the Russians to the establishment at Sitka.

Franklin Pierce and the Russian chargé, Baron Edward de Stoeckl.¹⁸ Once in St. Petersburg he persuaded the Russian-American Company directors to sign a twenty-year contract which would extend his company's trading privileges to coal and fish as well as ice. Under this new charter the San Francisco company would be the sole foreign firm permitted to trade for the ice, timber, coal, and fish from the Russian possessions in North America and from the Russian islands in the North Pacific Ocean. The American-Russian Commercial Company was also to be the chief supplier of foodstuffs and other necessities for the Russian colony.¹⁹ The Russian company, wishing to guarantee its supply of necessities during the Crimean War, had little choice but to agree to Sanders' terms. Since the proposed contract had a life of twenty years, a longer period than the Russian-American Company's charter, the Tsar, much to his displeasure, had to give special permission to the agreement.²⁰

From 1852 to 1859 the American company took 13,960 tons of ice from Sitka and 7,403 tons from Kodiak, or an average of about 3,000 tons per year. Indeed, during the Crimean War the American-Russian Company was the largest single supplier of goods to the Russian possession. In 1860 the Commercial Company signed a new contract with the Russian company under which the Russians were to furnish 3,000 tons of ice annually at \$7 per ton and agree not to sell ice to any other firm for less than \$25 per ton.²¹

The American-Russian Commercial Company sold most of its ice to San Francisco, but considerable amounts were exported to Mexican, Central, and South American ports. The company even made serious attempts to expand its sales to Asia. In 1858 an agent of the Commercial Company wrote to Messrs. Augustine Heard and Company of Hong Kong, China, inquiring "if it would not be profitable and possible to send cargoes of ice to your port or any other in China."²²

About the same time that the American-Russian Company was enlarging its designs upon the resources of Russian America, Perry M. Collins, an aggressive young man from California, arrived in Washington, D.C., to present an elaborate and assuming plan to President Franklin Pierce. Collins informed the president that the recent Russian acquisition of the Amur River region in Eastern Siberia could be of great value to American merchants. For years, Collins reminded Pierce, Americans had been trading in the Russian possessions in Asia. If United States traders were to utilize the Amur they not only could capture the interior trade of Russian Asia, which Collins alleged was worth \$50 million a year, but they could also tap the markets of China and Japan, which navigation of the Amur would more fully open.²³

Collins' assessment of the movement of American traders was correct. Since these traders and whalers had first penetrated the Russian-American possessions in the early nineteenth century, they had slowly moved up the coast and across the ocean to the Russian possessions of Kamchatka and Okhotsk in Asia. The Russian-American Company which administered these areas had tried unsuccessfully to exclude these independent agents. No doubt Collins first learned about the wonders of the Amur from these traders, many of whom had stopped in California.²⁴

Having informed the president of the situation, Collins proposed that the president send him to the Amur River region "to look at it in a commercial point of view and open it up to commerce by way of this river; present to the knowledge of our people the nature and extent of this country." The Amur region, he argued, was "so important" to the growth and commerce of California, Oregon, and Washington. "In California," he noted, "our productions (aside from gold) are already seeking a market in exchange for such commodities as she does not produce."²⁵ Fortunately, Collins' letter and the urgings of the California delegation to Congress fit well with the expansionist inclinations of Pierce and Secretary of State William Marcy, and on March 24, 1856, Perry M. Collins was appointed United States commercial agent to the Amur River.²⁶

Arriving in St. Petersburg, Collins received the instant attention of the United States minister to Russia, Thomas Seymour. Marcy had instructed the minister to extend all possible assistance to Collins, and Seymour viewed his commission

seriously.²⁷ Through the United States legation's influence and hard work, Collins was able to leave for the Amur River region with full Russian governmental approval by December, 1856. The American agent, moreover, was to travel to the Amur in the company of the governor general of eastern Siberia, Nicholai Muraviev. During the next year Collins explored the Amur region and wrote to Marcy and his successor, Lewis Cass, of the many possibilities this region held for American commerce. He referred to the Amur as the "Mississippi" of Siberia, noting that the increasing Yankee trade at Kamchatka could expand up the Amur to tap the immense trade of northern Asia. This trade, Collins predicted, "will not be confined alone to the Russian possessions, but will extend into the Tartaries, Bukaria, Northern China, and Thibet, so as to take in the whole range of trade." He suggested that the Amur could be penetrated easily from the American west coast on a line with Kamchatka, or from Hawaii via the same route.²⁸

Before Collins returned to the United States by way of San Francisco in December, 1857, he retained a "Vice Commercial Agent," George S. Cushing, a resident agent of W. A. Boardman and Company of Boston, to handle his affairs in Russia. Boardman and Company had been active in the Russian-American trade for over a quarter of a century and was extending its operations from Kamchatka to the Amur. Apparently, Cushing was only too happy to tend shop for the United States commercial agent on leave.²⁹

Collins' return to Washington in 1858 brought a deluge of publicity to his venture. His reports were published in the press and utilized by some congressmen as another reason for speedy construction of a transcontinental railway.³⁰ More important, Collins' adventure caught the attention of Hiram Sibley, the president of Western Union Telegraph Company. Collins had suggested, among other things, the construction of an overland telegraph system that would link Asia and Europe to the United States via Russian America. The commerce tapped along the Amur would then flow eastward to the American West, as would the communications system of Europe and Asia. Sibley seemed just the man to back the flamboyant project.³¹

In 1859 Collins set out once again for the Amur. For the next two years he worked to gain a charter from the Russian government, and while he would not be successful until 1863, Collins and Sibley won the support of the Lincoln Administration for their project by 1861. Not even the Civil War would hamper their grand design.³²

Additional schemes involving Yankee enterprise in Russian America cropped up repeatedly before 1861. Like the Collins overland line, most of those projects were grandiose in vision. Some brought their authors profits, like the American-Russian Commercial Company; others, like Joseph Lane McDonald's, ended less happily. McDonald's interest in Russian America began in the 1840's when he worked in the fishing trade at New Bedford. During this period New Bedford sent almost all of its whaling fleet to the northwest coast, and McDonald heard many tales from returning whalers about the valuable waters along the Russian-American coast. In 1858 he arrived in San Francisco, not in search of gold, but to find fishing grounds. In 1859 McDonald explored the coastline from Oregon to the Arctic, reporting that the Russian-American coastline was a fishing treasure that surpassed all his expectations. Returning to San Francisco in the late fall,

McDonald formed a commercial company, including in its membership the Russian consul at San Francisco. McDonald needed a lease from the Russian-American Company for the privilege of exploiting the saltwater fisheries along the Russian-American coast, but the Russian consul failed in his attempts to persuade the Russian governor to grant the privilege. McDonald then wrote to Secretary of State Lewis Cass requesting aid. Cass replied that national troubles precluded any action at that time and that McDonald should "wait for a more convenient season." Persistent, McDonald wrote to Senator William McKendree Gwin of California who was more receptive. No doubt part of the impetus behind Gwin's proposal to the Russian minister in Washington, D.C., Edward de Stoeckl, in late 1859 for the purchase of the Russian possession came from McDonald's request. Nevertheless, the imminence of the domestic rebellion dampened McDonald's efforts to obtain fishing rights along the Russian-American coast in the same way it stalled Gwin and Appleton's later attempt to purchase it.³³

The American Civil War, though a domestic catastrophe, proved to be more an annoyance than a stumbling block to continued Yankee enterprise in Russian America. Most firms dealing with the Russian colony suffered little as a result of the war. While northwest-coast whalers were subjected to occasional attacks from the Confederate Navy, the American-Russian Commercial Company and the Collins Overland Line Company expanded their plans and operations. Likewise, Joseph Lane McDonald's schemes took on new dimensions during the war. Additional firms wishing to join in the Russian-American trade formed as the last battles were being fought in the South. Politically and diplomatically, however, the war between the states made acquisition of the tsar's colony impracticable. Nevertheless, as early as December, 1863, Secretary of State William H. Seward began planning for the purchase of Russian America, and on March 29, 1867, two years after the conclusion of the Civil War, the secretary of state signed the Treaty of Cession with Russian Minister Baron de Stoeckl.

Throughout the 1857 to 1861 economic recession, and despite the resulting decreased investment in whaling, the Pacific Northwest whaling grounds continued to be the mainstay of the American whaling industry. While many whaling ports ceased their operations, between 1857 to 1867 the ports of New Bedford and New London continued to make substantial profits from the northwest coast whale fishery.³⁴ Nevertheless, investors who once had speculated in whaling turned to investment in cotton mills which suddenly sprang up in the old northeastern whaling ports during the middle 1850's.³⁵ Cotton mills were a safer, and, as it turned out, a more lucrative investment than bowhead whales. (The first cotton mill in New Bedford was founded by Joseph Grinnell, the whaling industry's spokesman in Congress.³⁶) The discovery of oil in Pennsylvania in 1859, however, signalled the finale for whaling as a profitable investment. With the rapidly spreading use of kerosene, whale oil lamps began to disappear from America.³⁷ Even so, whaling continued in the North Pacific waters throughout the American Civil War, and because the southern rebels believed that these whalers were very important to the northern economy, Confederate privateers continually harassed them in the Pacific Northwest, de-

stroying more than fifty vessels and requisitioning many more.³⁸ At the time of the sale of Russian America to the United States in 1867, some 90 to 100 American-owned whaling vessels were still hunting in the waters near Russian America, Okhotsk, Kamchatka, and the Bering Strait.³⁹

During the period of American civil strife, the American-Russian Commercial Company continued its enterprises in the Russian possession. By 1863 the American company was purchasing over 3,000 tons of ice per year from Russian America.⁴⁰ Frederick Whympers, the English explorer and author who travelled in Alaska shortly after the purchase, considered the ice industry by itself important enough to justify the purchase.⁴¹ George Davidson, who was sent by Seward to make a survey and report on Alaska in November, 1867, wrote that the Commercial Company sold 3,200 tons of ice annually to San Francisco alone.⁴² In the same month the *Alta California* reported that the ice company was "enlarging operations" and that during the next year it would "transport 20,000 tons of ice. . . ."⁴³

Like the Commercial Company's ice business, the Collins telegraph scheme continued during the war. Having returned to the Amur in 1859, Collins received powerful support from Secretary of State Cass⁴⁴ and Cass' Republican successor, William Henry Seward,⁴⁵ as well as the constant attention of Hiram Sibley in his efforts to obtain a charter for his telegraph company.⁴⁶ At Seward's direction the Russian Imperial government was advised that if they granted a charter to Collins, the United States government would subsidize the building of the line.⁴⁷ Finally, in May, 1863, the Russian government agreed to grant Collins his charter.⁴⁸

Collins' success in Russia brought him quick rewards in the United States. Sibley readily persuaded his board of directors of Western Union to purchase the rights which Collins had obtained by the charter. They paid \$100,000 and 10 per cent of the stock issued by the company created to construct the line. Collins was also appointed to the board of directors of Western Union and made manager of the Collins Overland Line Company which was charged with stringing the telegraphic line.⁴⁹ By the end of 1864 Collins was again off to Russia. This time his traveling companion was Hiram Sibley.⁵⁰

Collins and Sibley met with the emperor and Foreign Minister Gorchakov. For the next several months the American visitors haggled with the Russian government over the rebate the Russians would receive from the telegraphic operations. While the Imperial government desired a 40 per cent rebate, Sibley thought that 20 per cent would be a fair compromise. Grudgingly Sibley acquiesced to the 40 per cent figure and hoped that the United States minister, Cassius M. Clay, would be able to gain a reduction later.⁵¹

During his conversations with Gorchakov, Sibley indicated that if the British government had not agreed to allow the telegraphic line to pass through British Columbia, he would have purchased the Hudson's Bay Company which retained a charter from the British Crown in that area. Sibley named a sum of money which he would have offered for the Hudson's Bay Company. Gorchakov replied that for a few dollars more, the Russian government would be willing to sell its possession in North America. Sibley rapidly pursued the line of conversation. He asked the foreign minister for permission to inform the United States govern-

ICE. ICE.

San Francisco, March 31 1866

Mr. Watson

Bought of American Russian Commercial Company.

D. E. MARTIN, Superintendent.

Agnes & Deffelsch print.

OFFICE—CORNER BROADWAY AND BATTERY STREETS.

March 1st 4th 20th
" 1st 11th 35th
" 11th 15th 35th
" 18th 25th 35th
" 25th 35th 35th

16th Dec 5th 9th -
D. E. Martin
J. W. Foster

Testifying to the American Russian Commercial Company's trade in ice from Russian America is this invoice for the month of March, 1866, which details four shipments of ice totalling 160 pounds to a Mr. Watson.

ment of Russia's willingness to part with Russian America.⁵² Gorchakov had no objection, and Seward was quickly informed.⁵³

Seward immediately instructed the American minister to Russia to invite the tsar's brother, Grand Duke Constantine Nikolaevich, to the United States. Seward learned from the dispatches of his ministers in Russia that Constantine had been an early and consistent advocate of the cession of Russian America to the United States. "I think it [a visit by Constantine] would be beneficial to the United States," the secretary of state wrote to Clay on December 26, 1864, "and by no means unprofitable to Russia." Seward added, "I forbear from specifying my reasons. They will readily occur to you, as they would to his Imperial Highness, if his thoughts were turned in that direction."⁵⁴ There can be no doubt that Seward was speaking of the acquisition of Russian America, because the secretary of state sent this letter, along with other documents relating to the purchase of Alaska, to the House of Representatives in 1868 in an attempt to persuade the House to pay for the territory for which the administration had negotiated. Constantine decline the invitation, but Seward later obtained from Minister Stoeckl the concession he desired from Constantine.⁵⁵

While the Collins telegraph line was never completed, construction of the

line had begun before the project was abandoned,⁵⁶ and Perry Collins had excited American interest in the Russian-held areas of Asia, helping to extend American commerce from the Russian-American Company's possession in Kamchatka and Okhotsk to Siberia. It is clear that this increased American presence in Russian Asia was to become a prime consideration in the Russian government's decision to sell Russian America to the United States. Moreover, during the American Civil War, Collins and Sibley kept the door open for the eventual resurgence of American governmental interest in the acquisition of Russian America.

Like Collins, Joseph Land McDonald sustained his efforts during the Civil War period and gained additional supporters for his fishing schemes. He moved his base to Puget Sound in Washington Territory, and in 1863 he was appointed chief clerk of the lower legislative house of the territory. When the war ended, McDonald recommended his activities to obtain fishing rights in Russian America. This time his plans were more grandiose: he proposed the formation of an "Oriental and Occidental Railroad and Steamship Company" to transport goods from Europe to Asia via the United States and Russian America. This corporation would in turn, he asserted, be a parent to many subsidiary concerns such as cod packets, whaling, and the manufacturing of fishery products.⁵⁷

Deciding that it might be more productive to begin his ventures with a smaller but still ambitious undertaking, McDonald conceived the "Puget Sound Steam Navigation Company" whose aim would be to control commerce and fishing along the Pacific Northwest coast from Puget Sound to the Arctic Ocean. On October 4, 1864, "The Puget Sound Steam Navigation Company," with capital stock amounting to \$50,000, issued its prospectus. The resumé claimed that "the convenience of safe harbors and the prospective travel and commerce on Puget Sound, renders the immediate organization and incorporation of a Steam Navigation Company indispensable." The Puget Sound Company, alleged the prospectus, had "been in correspondence with steamship owners 'beyond the seas' . . .," and success and profits were "just around the corner." The company's incorporation bill easily passed the Washington legislature.⁵⁸

More difficult was the securing of the right from the Russian-American Company to trade and fish along the coast of Russian America. In January, 1866, McDonald used his influential position as chief clerk of the legislature to prevail upon the territorial lawmakers to send a memorial to President Andrew Johnson and Secretary of State Seward requesting the United States government "to obtain such *rights and privileges* of the Government of Russia, as will enable our fishing vessels to visit the harbors of its possessions. . . ." The memorial noted that "vast quantities of cod, halibut, and salmon of excellent quality are found along the shores of Russian-America." But for Americans to reap the benefits of this fishing trade, they must be allowed to obtain "fuel, water and provisions"; the right to have sick and disabled fishermen receive sanitary assistance; and the "privilege of taking and curing fish and repairing vessels." McDonald's memorial concluded by requesting that the government "employ such ships as may be spared from the Pacific Naval Fleet in surveying the fishing banks. . . ."⁵⁹

Perhaps not surprisingly, McDonald's expansive schemes soon collapsed. The Puget Sound Steam Navigation Company did buy one ship but soon went

bankrupt.⁶⁰ The pressures McDonald exerted on the federal government were, nonetheless, very useful to the expansionist-minded Seward. The secretary of state later stated that "the memorial of the legislature of Washington Territory" was used to persuade Baron de Stoeckl of "the importance of some early and comprehensive arrangement between the two countries to prevent the growth of difficulties arising out of the fisheries in the Russian possessions."⁶¹ Both Seward and Stoeckl realized that the American desire for fishing rights in Russian America was no chimera; past history had demonstrated that.

With the end of the Civil War, a fur trading issue once again demonstrated to the Russians that American entrepreneurs could not long be restrained by national boundaries; as with the McDonald schemes, the Yankee fur traders had influential and governmental support in pursuing their aims. In 1865, Lewis Goldstone, an American fur dealer in Victoria, British Columbia, developed a plan to obtain for a San Francisco-based company the Hudson's Bay Company's soon-to-expire sub-lease to the fur trade of the Russian-American mainland. Goldstone succeeded in inducing a number of influential persons to join him in this venture, including John F. Miller, collector of the port of San Francisco; Eugene Sullivan, Miller's successor; Samuel Brannan, one of the wealthiest men in California; Louis Sloss, a San Francisco businessman; and Judge E. Burke, brother-in-law of California Senator Cornelis Cole.⁶²

At first Goldstone only planned to obtain a sub-lease. Soon, however, he and his colleagues decided that if successful in obtaining the sub-lease, they would make a bid for a lease to the fur and trading rights for all the territory under the domain of the Russian company. This area included, in addition to the mainland, the Pribilof, Aleutian, Kurile, and Commander islands; the latter two islands belonged to Kamchatka in Asia. Goldstone purchased two schooners, the *Lord Raglan* and the *Native*, and sent them out "to make a thorough exploration" of the Russian-American coasts. During the next twelve months Goldstone launched three consecutive expeditions "to explore the 'jurisdiction' of the Russian-American Fur Company." Goldstone and his associates optimistically expended \$183,700 for these explorations. The San Francisco group prepared several maps of Russian America and a long report about the natural resources of the area. The maps and report were forwarded to California Senator Cole, a long-time associate of Seward's.⁶³

Cole was instructed to speak to Russian Minister Stoeckl in Washington to try to obtain Stoeckl's aid in persuading the Russian government "to invest us [Goldstone and Co.] with the right in trading in all the country between the British American line and the Russian archipelago." The San Franciscans thought these rights so valuable that they were willing to exceed the price the Hudson's Bay Company had been paying and, in addition, to aid in "ameliorating the conditions of the Indians by employing missionaries. . . ."⁶⁴

Senator Cole soon developed a strong interest in the venture, and by the end of 1866 he willingly took charge of the scheme.⁶⁵ After Stoeckl left for Russia in October, 1866, Seward persuaded Cole to work through United States Minister to Russia Clay to obtain the lease.⁶⁶ After receiving a letter from Clay in late December, Cole instructed his California colleagues "to have a company incorporated under the general corporation laws of California and. . . . Let the company

send our Minister in St. Petersburg a full power of attorney, and instructions how to act in purchasing this right of the Russian American Company." Cole suggested that the San Francisco company could also obtain "really valuable" mining privileges if they would "give the Directors of the Russian Company . . . blanc [sic] dollars (some limited amount) for the privileges asked. That is the only way to do the thing." The California senator also suggested that the company issue some stock to Clay "for his troubles and services, which are outside of his diplomatic duties."⁶⁷

Clay wrote to Cole on February 1, 1867, that the Russian government had informed him that the Hudson's Bay Company lease was up for renewal and that the government "could not enter into negotiations with us or your California Company" until the discussions with the Hudson's Bay Company were completed. Clay, however, assured Cole that if the Russians "can get off with the Hudson's Bay Company . . . we can make some arrangements with the Russian-American Company."⁶⁸ Later that month, Cole informed his associates that the minister's latest letter was "a new and not more encouraging phase of this affair," but suggested that they "had better organize as if you expected to succeed."⁶⁹

Neither Clay nor Cole realized that Stoeckl had been called back to St. Petersburg in order to complete plans to cede the Russian possession to the United States. Stoeckl returned to the United States in early February, 1867, and went to see Cole twice in March.⁷⁰ He was somewhat shocked on April 1 when Stoeckl informed him of the Treaty of Cession. The California senator lamented, "It would have been better if we could have obtained the privilege we desired—but if the treaty is ratified that scheme (of exclusiveness) will all be up."⁷¹ Writing to his brother-in-law after the treaty had won Senate confirmation, Cole sensed an irony in his role: the cession of Russian America, he observed, "sprang out of our negotiations for trading in fur. Baron Stoeckl said so. But we did not anticipate this result. . . . Our negotiations related *not* to acquisition *but* to exclusive privilege in the territory."⁷²

Stoeckl, of course, exaggerated the importance of the Cole and Goldstone negotiations. The decision to sell had been made over a period of years beginning in 1853, and the final decision was made by Gorchakov before Stoeckl returned to the United States.⁷³ Nevertheless, schemes like Cole's and Goldstone's contributed to the Tsar's decision to release the territory for \$7,200,000.

Indeed, the continued failure by Russia to keep United States citizens out of Russian America led some influential policy makers in St. Petersburg to urge the cession of the Russian possession to the United States long before the United States' inquiries. In 1853, for instance, Nikolai Muraviev, a staunch advocate of his country's expansion in Asia and conqueror of the Amur region for the imperial government, urged Tsar Nicholas to cede the Russian-American colonies to the United States. Muraviev reasoned:

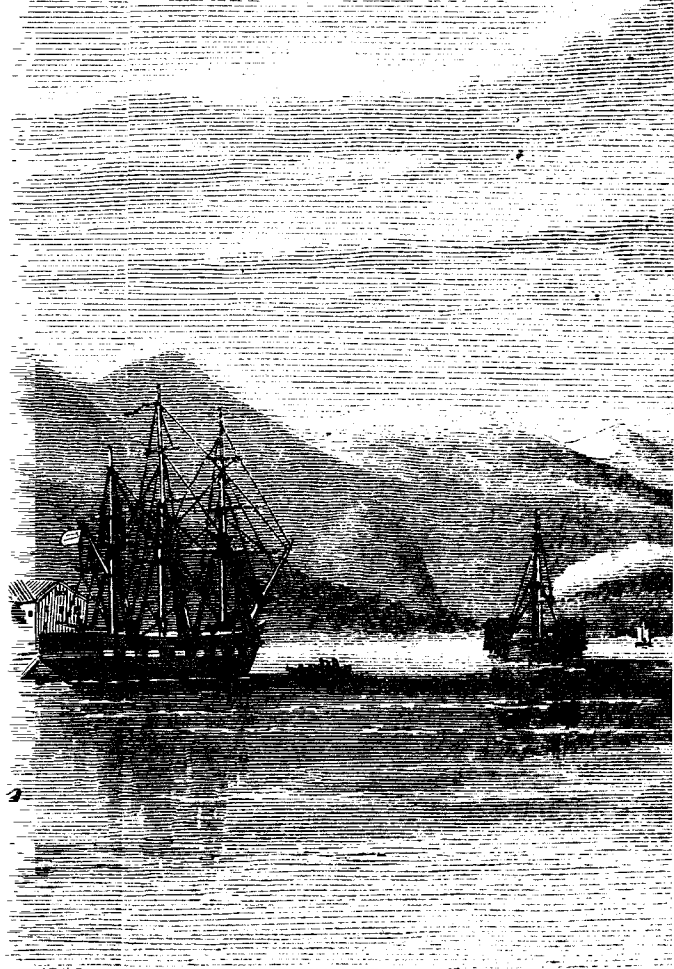
The ultimate rule of the United States over the whole of North America is so natural . . . that must ourselves sooner or later recede—but we must recede *peacefully* in return for which we might receive other advantages from the Americans. Due to its present amazing development of railroads, the United States will soon spread over all North America. We must face the fact that we will have to cede our North American possessions to them.



Moreover, the Russian expansionist believed other advantages would accrue to his nation in “yielding peacefully” to the United States in North America. Muraviev argued that Russia’s destiny was “if not to control the whole of Eastern Asia, at least to hold sway over the whole Asiatic Coast of the Pacific.” The Russian-American Company, he suggested, should be relocated and established “on Sakhalin whence its trade with Japan and Korea will develop.” Muraviev was convinced that cession of Russian America to the United States would sate the Yankees and permit the Russians to concentrate on Asia and their enemy there, the British. He hoped that in Asia “a close alliance between us and the United States” could be effected.⁷⁴

In fact, in 1854, at the beginning of the Crimean War, the Russian-American Company considered a fictitious sale of Russian America to the American-Russian Commercial Company in order to avoid its seizure by the British. The idea was quickly dismissed, though, because the Russian government realized that the British might see through the maneuver and seize the colony anyway. The Russians also feared that once the Yankees obtained Russian America, they might keep it. An Anglo-Russian agreement in 1855 declaring North America a sanctuary from the war neatly avoided a most unpleasant dilemma for the Russians. Rumors nevertheless appeared in the press alleging that Russia was willing to sell her North American possession to the United States.⁷⁵

In March, 1854, Senator William M. Gwin of California and Secretary of State Marcy notified Russian Chargé Stoeckl that if Russia were willing to sell, the



By the mid-nineteenth century New Archangel on the island of Sitka had become a busy trading outlet as well as a bustling metropolis boasting a cathedral, teahouse, and public gardens. Between 1852 and 1859 the American Russian Company took 13,960 tons of ice from the island alone, and fur trading remained profitable.

United States was willing to buy. Stoeckl responded that there was no truth to such rumors. The chargé informed his government of the conversation with the secretary of state and the senator. Once such ideas were planted in the American mind, noted Stoeckl, they were not easily uprooted. "They are dangerous neighbors," he warned, "and we must avoid giving them the least quarrel."⁷⁶

In January, 1856, Stoeckl wrote of his exasperation in trying to protect the interests of the Russian-American Company. Each year, he explained, because more and more Americans were settling in the Oregon Territory "in the neighborhood of our Northwest possessions" they would "put these extremes in actual danger" and be "a growing source of worries between the two governments."⁷⁷

Emperor Alexander II's brother, the Grand Duke Constantine Nikolaevich, read Stoeckl's correspondence regarding American-Russian relations in North America with interest. Constantine had been trained for a career in the Imperial Russian Navy, and his tours of inspection had taken him to all corners of the empire. In 1855 he became minister of marine and at once took on the task of modernization and naval development. Determined to create for himself an independent sphere of action, he used his position as director of naval affairs to channel Russian expansion and commerce away from Europe toward the Far East, Central Asia, and the Mediterranean. As the Crimean War drew to a close, Constantine's power and influence were considerable.⁷⁸

In order to redirect Russian expansion, as well as to aid recovery from the Crimean War, Constantine urged his brother's government to consolidate its

wide-spread holdings. Like the Asian-expansionist, Nicholai Muraviev, the grand duke believed that the Russian empire's eastern border should be the Pacific coast of Asia. Russian America, he argued, was expendable. In December, 1857, Constantine prepared a long memorandum for Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov. The grand duke noted that "the Company could not proceed with its present system without involving our Government in . . . controversies with the Americans. . . ." If the company and the government continued to resist American trade with Russian America, Constantine feared the Americans would "harm not only the Company's trade, but all Russian trade in America." The emperor's brother then added his powerful voice in urging the Russian government to give up its North American possession to the United States:

Having in view the future development of Russia and the United States of America in accordance with their particular nature and in accordance with the historical significance of both states, Russia might endeavor to become stronger in her center in order to be able to hold those extremities which bring her real benefit. The United States of America following the natural order of things is bound to aim at the possession of the whole of North America and therefore there will be a time when we shall meet there. No doubt they shall take possession of our colonies without much effort and we shall never be in a position to regain them.⁷⁹

Foreign Minister Gorchakov, however, was unenthusiastic about giving up Russia's American possession, especially under the threat of force. He suggested to the grand duke that if Russia must cede her American possession to the United States, it would at least be politic to let the American government make the first step.⁸⁰

Other memoranda received by the foreign ministry advised following the course suggested by Constantine. In a memorandum entitled "Concerning the Cession of Our American Colonies to the Government of the United States" Baron F. P. Wrangell, who served as governor of Russian America in the 1830's, urged the Russian government to relinquish its colony to the Americans. Wrangell noted that the possessions were valuable for their "rich coal deposits, ice, construction timber, fish, and excellent seaports. . . ." The former governor noted, too, that "if it were not for the *fears of the future*, there could be no doubt that even twenty million silver rubles could not be regarded as complete remuneration for the loss of possessions which promise important results in the development of industrial activity." But, concluded Wrangell, "*anticipatory prudence*" dictated a cession to the United States.⁸¹

In his memorandum, Baron Wrangell discussed the treaty which the Russian-American Company had made "with the American-Russian Trading (formerly Ice) Company which would not expire until October 9-21, 1875. . . ." Later in April, Tsar Alexander reluctantly approved a "Highly Confidential Memorandum Concerning the Cession to the United States of Our Possessions in North America." Alexander noted on the memorandum that the "contract between our Company and San Francisco [American-Russian Commercial Company] . . . exceedingly reduce the value of our possessions in North America." This memorandum, which embodied Wrangell's suggestion, proposed that the negotiations with the United States should be carried out in secret and that the sale should take place four years hence (1861), when the Russian-American Company's charter expired.⁸²

If the government in St. Petersburg needed any further reasons to sell, its minister in Washington provided some additional support. On November 13, 1859, Stoeckl warned that if the Russian government continued to maintain a monopoly in North America which was, he believed, "more impossible than anywhere else," it would create "continual embarrassments provoking serious discussions between the two governments and injuring its own interests." The American government, Stoeckl feared, would retaliate by closing all its ports to Russians.⁸³ Stoeckl wrote on December 2 that Brigham Young and his Mormon followers were planning either to emigrate to the Hudson's Bay region or to settle "in our possessions." If the rumor was true, noted Stoeckl, and President Buchanan hoped it was, it "would place before us the alternative of providing armed resistance or of giving up part of our territory." When the emperor read this dispatch, he penned in its margin, "This supports the idea of settling henceforth the question of our American possessions."⁸⁴

By the end of 1859 Senator Gwin once more suggested a sale by the Russians. He told Stoeckl that \$5 million would be a fair price. Stoeckl informed Gorchako of Gwin's offer, telling the foreign minister that the American assistant secretary of state, John Appleton (who was on intimate terms with the president and virtually ran the state department), had supported the bid. The Russian minister thought his government should accept the offer. "The conquest of California dealt a fatal blow to the predominance of the English in the Pacific, and at the present time," Stoeckl believed, "the United States exercises there a control almost without limit." If it were not for the colony's small value, argued the minister, it "would not be safe from American filibusterers."⁸⁵ Stoeckl missed the point. For many United States citizens, Russian America was of considerable value. Before serious negotiations could begin, however, American domestic events intervened.

In July, 1867, Baron Stoeckl wrote a long memorandum to Prince Gorchakov in which he reviewed the events that led to the sale of Alaska. Stoeckl noted that if Russia had attempted to retain her possession she "would have encountered serious obstacles" from her "American neighbors." Tracing the history of United States-Russian relations in Russian America, beginning with the Treaty of 1824, the Russian minister noted how, time and again, the United States government had pushed to keep Russian America open to Yankee commerce. "But another problem," Stoeckl proclaimed, "menaced our possessions. I am speaking of American filibusterers who swarm in the Pacific. To their eyes this continent is their patrimony." Stoeckl explained, "It was hoped that the little resources of our colonies would shelter them from the rapacity of the filibusters, but it has been otherwise." While American citizens had many rich areas of their own to exploit, "the fish, the forests, and several other products [of Alaska] . . . have not escaped the lust of the Americans." The government of the United States, declared Stoeckl, was as culpable as her zealous citizens. Whenever the Russian government complained about encroachments by Americans, the United States government would reply, "if they [American citizens] commit disorders on your territory, it is up to you to defend it," knowing full well that it was impossible to do so.

Stoeckl concluded that Russia had been forced out of her American possessions: "Menaced by American neighbors our possessions would entangle us in serious disputes with the Federal Government and finish by becoming American prop-

erty.” When Gorchakov read this dispatch he wrote “*très remarquable*” on top and sent it on to Alexander. The tsar added a notation below Gorchakov’s: “Yes, and we must make an extract and publish it.”⁸⁶

American commercial interest in Russian America during the fifteen years preceding the sale of Alaska and the Russian reaction to that interest opens to serious question the traditional interpretations of the Alaska purchase. The value of the Russian territory was not unknown to influential commercial and political leaders within the United States. Moreover, Russian policy makers, as well, were attuned to its value. Clearly, the Russians were motivated, at least in part, by the fear that increasing American commercial interest in Russian America might force the Russian colony into the fate of Spanish and French possessions in North America. A thorough investigation of American-Russian relations in the Pacific Northwest might uncover evidence that the Russians believed they had more to fear from the United States than is generally supposed and that, in part, that fear was justified. At the very least, the documented influence of American commercial interests makes it appropriate to conduct a critical reevaluation of the reasons for the sale of Russian America.

THE PHOTO on page 4 is courtesy The Bancroft Library; illustrations on pages 8–9 and 18–19 are reproduced from *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, July, 1867, pages 171 and 173. The billhead on page 14 is from the Eugene L. Sullivan papers in the CHS Manuscripts Collection.

NOTES

1. Thomas A. Bailey’s 1934 article “Why the United States purchased Alaska” (*Pacific Historical Review*, III:40–41) places most of the responsibility on Seward’s insatiable appetite for territory. Bailey also argues the corollary of this view that Americans were ignorant of Alaska’s value: “Americans today probably know more about Antarctica than their countrymen knew about Russian America.” *Diplomatic History of the American People*, 36 (New York: 1969). This same point of view, with an added emphasis on American innocence, is echoed in a more recent article on the Alaska purchase: Henry R. Huttenbach, “Sale of Alaska,” *Alaska Review*, Spring-Summer, 1970, pp. 42–43.

2. Frank A. Golder came to this conclusion in 1920 in “The Purchase of Alaska,” *American Historical Review*, XXV: 413. Golder’s view has stood the test of time, being reargued by Victor J. Farrar, *Purchase of Alaska*, 19 (Washington: 1935); A. G. Mazour, “The Prelude to Russia’s Departure from America,” *Pacific Historical Review*, X:316 (Sept., 1941); and most recently by Peter M. Buzanski, “Alaska and Nineteenth Century Diplomacy,” *Journal of the West*, 6:452 (1967). Buzanski, unlike many others, however, does argue that American desires to acquire Alaska manifested themselves well before 1867 (p. 451). But he does not tie the purchase to American commercial interests in Russian America.

3. For more on whaling before 1852, see Howard I. Kushner, “‘Hellships’: Yankee Whaling Along the Coasts of Russian America, 1835–1852,” *New England Quarterly*, XLV:81–95 (March, 1972).

4. Joel H. Silbey, ed., *The Transformation of American Politics, 1840–1860*, 22–33 (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: 1967).

5. For a view of the economic development of the United States during this period, see North, *Economic Growth of the United States*, 204–210; also, George R. Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860* (New York: 1951), esp. chapters 7, 8, 9, and 15.

6. See North, *Economic Growth of United States*, 210–213.

7. Walter S. Tower, *A History of American Whale Fishery*, 66 (Philadelphia, 1907); P. A. Tikhmenev, *The Historical Review of the Russian American Company*, II:159–161 (St. Petersburg, 1861–1863).

8. Tower, *American Whale Fishery*, 66, 121, 129; Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, 668; Tikhmenev, *Russian-American Co.*, II: 159-161. According to the Department of Foreign Commerce's "Report of the Commission on the Organization of the Russian-American Colonies, pt. I:162 (St. Petersburg: 1863), from 1850 to 1860 there were an average of 600 United States vessels annually in Russian colonial waters. In 1854, the report claims that 525 Yankee vessels were counted, while 468 appeared in 1855. These figures seem a little inflated, but they indicate nevertheless the magnitude of the Yankee whaling effort in Russian America as viewed by the Russian Company.

9. Alexander Starbuck, *History of American Whale Fishery*, 2 vols. (orig. published as Part IV of *Report of U.S. Commission on Fish and Fisheries*, Washington, 1878), reprinted, II:660 (New York, 1961).

10. Tikhmenev, *Russian-American Co.*, II:174-178.

11. *Annals of San Francisco*, 735-739. See also Norman E. Saul, "Beverley C. Sanders and the Expansion of American Trade with Russia, 1853-1855," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67:156-70 (Summer, 1972). Professor Saul kindly supplied the author with a complete list of the stockholders which he obtained from the Sanders Papers.

12. *Annals of San Francisco*, 735-739.

13. Burling and Hill, see William Burling Papers, California Historical Society, San Francisco; *Sketches of Leading and Representative Men of San Francisco*, edited by "Eminent Editors," 1875 edition, p. 806; *Early Days in California*, edited by G. W. Sullivan, I:218 (San Francisco: 1888).

14. For Samuel Hensley, see Obituary of S. J. Hensley, January 4, 1866, California Historical Society files, San Francisco.

15. For Abel Guy, see Abel Guy Papers, California Historical Society.

16. For a discussion of Folsom's report on Russian America, see Howard J. Kushner, "The Oregon Question is a Massachusetts Question," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 75 (December, 1974). Among the other San Franciscans who owned a large number of shares in the company were: John Caperton, notary public for the County of San Francisco, see John Caperton Papers, California Historical Society; James C. Ward and Robert Wells, partners in a rather successful real-estate speculation business, see James C. Ward Papers, *Ibid.*; J. Mora Moss, who succeeded Sanders as president of the company, was involved in numerous enterprises in the 1850's including the New Almaden-Quicksilver Mining Company (of which he was president) and the Sacramento Valley Railroad, see J. Mora Moss Papers, New Almaden Mining Co. Papers, 1854-1864, and Sacramento Valley Railroad Papers, *Ibid.* In November, 1852, Moss joined with Sanders to found the San Francisco Gas and Coal Company, incorporated with a capital stock of \$450,000, see *Annals of San Francisco*, 518.

17. N. Golovnin, "Review of the Russian Colonies in North America," *Material for the History of Russian Settlements on the Shores of the Eastern Ocean*, pt. 2:182-84 (St. Petersburg: 1863), mss transl. by Ivan Petrov, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Department of Foreign Commerce, "Report of the Commission on the Organization of the Russian-American Colonies" (St. Petersburg: 1863), 2 pts., mss transl. by Petrov, Bancroft Library, I:126-129; Tikhmenev, *Russian-American Co.*, II:194; Bancroft, *Alaska*, 587; Andrews, "Alaska Under the Russians," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VIII:289 (Oct. 1916); E. L. Keithahn, "Alaska Ice, Inc." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, April, 1945, p. 121; Saul, "Beverley C. Sanders," 157-158; Tikhmenev (II:194) says that in the first contract, the American Company agreed to take 1200 tons of ice per year at \$20.25 per ton.

18. Golovnin, "Review of the Russian Colonies," 183; Stoeckl to Gorchakov, March 10/22, 1854, *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives*, edited by F. Al Golder, II:2 (Washington, 1917-1932); Saul, "Beverley C. Sanders," 159.

19. Tikhmenev, *Russian-American Co.*, II:195; Golovnin, "Review of the Russian Colonies," 183-184; Saul, "Beverley C. Sanders," 159-164.

20. Saul, in "Beverley C. Sanders" (162-164), argues that the Russian government was pleased to sign the agreement with the American-Russian Ice Company, as the Commercial Company was often known. Saul's evidence, however, rests upon Sanders' *Diary*. On the other hand, both Tikhmenev (*Russian-American Co.*, II:195) and Russian sources show that the Russians reluctantly agreed to the contract because of the circumstances of the Crimean War. See Memorandum of Baron F. Wrangell to Tsar, April 9, 1857, National Archives (hereafter abbreviated as NA),

"Cessation of Alaska," annex 2; the tsar in a memorandum of April 29, 1857, noted that the contract with the American-Russian Ice Company had "exceedingly reduce[d] the value of our possession in North America." *Ibid.*, annex 3.

21. Tikhmenev, *Russian-American Co.*, II:178, 197-198; Andrews, "Alaska Under the Russians," 289; Bancroft, *Alaska*, 287; Keithahn, "Alaska Ice, Inc.," 123, 128; *Alaska Herald*, Sept. 15, 1868; Golovnin's report (pp. 184-185) claimed that the 1860 contract was made because Sanders' company had defaulted on the 1854 agreement. Evidence for such a view is sketchy. Since the 1860 contract provided for the American company to purchase more ice at a cheaper price per ton, one suspects that Golovnin's analysis is incorrect. Nevertheless, the 1860 agreement does not deal with the sale of timber, coal, and fish. It may well be that the American company and the Russian company found that aspect of the previous agreement unworkable, especially after the Russian-American coal mining operation at Kenai Bay was destroyed by fire in early 1860. See F. A. Golder, "Mining in Alaska before 1867," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VII:236 (July, 1916).

22. Keithahn, "Alaska Ice, Inc.," 126. Apparently no bargain was reached with the Hong Kong merchants.

23. Collins to Pierce, Feb. 29, 1856, NA, *Amoor River*. Charles Vevier has written a most interesting and informative article about Collins' designs on the Amur and its relation to American expansion: "The Collins Overland Line and American Continentalism," *Pacific Historical Review*, 28:237-253 (August, 1959). While I have borrowed heavily from Vevier's work, I have rechecked the sources to understand the particular relationship of the Collins scheme to U.S. interest in Russian America.

24. By the end of 1843 the Russian-American Company had given up its earlier attempts to exclude Yankee traders in Russian Asia. See Todd to Webster, April 20/May 2, 1843, NA, *Despatches, Russia*; Todd to Upshur, Aug. 7/19, 1843, *Ibid.* Yet as late as 1860 the Russian company was lodging complaints against the behavior of Yankees in Russian Asia. See Cass to Stoeckl, Dec. 8, 1860, NA, *Notes to Russian Legation*.

25. Collins to Pierce, Feb. 29, 1856, NA, *Amoor River*.

26. Cass to James R. Clay, July 15, 1859, 35 Cong. 2 sess., House Exec. Doc. #53, pp. 1-4.

27. Seymour to Marcy, Nov. 1/13, 1856, NA, *Despatches, Russia*.

28. Collins to Marcy, July 24, 1856; Sept. 10, 1856; Nov. 18/30, 1856, NA, *Amoor River*; Extract from Collins notes, Feb. 28, 1857, enclosed in Collins to Cass, March 6, 1858, *Ibid.*

29. Collins to March, Dec. 17, 1857, *Ibid.*; Collins to Cass, Feb. 12, 1858, *Ibid.*

30. Vevier, "Collins Line," 243; *New York Herald*, April 8, 1858; Gwin and Chas. L. Scott to Cass, June 4, 1858, NA, *Amoor River*; *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong. 2, pt. 1, p. 471.

31. Collins to Cass, Sept. 20, 1859; NA, *Amoor River*; *Collins Amoor River Report*, 37 Cong. 2, House Exec. Doc. 45, p. 215.

32. Collins to Cass, Oct. 8, 1859; May 1, 1860, NA, *Amoor River*; Collins to F. W. Seward, Sept. 18, 1861, *Ibid.*

33. Victor J. Farrar, "Joseph Lane McDonald and the Purchase of Alaska," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XII:83-84 (April, 1921); McDonald to Seward, July 15, 1867, 40 Cong. 2, House Exec. Doc. #177, p. 58.

34. Tower, *American Whale Fishery*, 52, 70-72.

35. *Ibid.*, 67.

36. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII:4.

37. Tower, *American Whale Fishery*, 76-77.

38. Andrews, "Alaska Whaling," 6.

39. Tower, *American Whale Fishery*, 129.

40. Tikhmenev, *Russian-American Co.*, II:197-198.

41. Frederick Whymper, *Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska*, 104-05 (New York: 1871).

42. *U.S. Coast Survey*, 1867, 40 Cong. 2 sess. Excc. Doc., #275, Appendix 18, pp. 210-211.

43. *Alta California*, Nov. 21, 1867; see also Keithahn, "Alaska Ice, Inc.," 125-128.

44. Collins to Cass, Oct. 8, 1859, May 1, 1860, NA, *Amoor River*.

45. Collins to F. W. Seward, Sept. 18, 1861, NA, *Amoor River*; Collins to Seward (and Memorandum to Cameron), June 9, 1862, *Ibid.*

46. Vevier, "Collins Line," 244.
47. Seward to Cameron, June 9, 1862, NA, *Instructions, Russia*; Cameron to Seward, July 23, 1862, NA, *Despatches, Russia*.
48. Clay to Seward, May 19, 1863, June 17, 1863, *Ibid*.
49. Vevier, "Collins Line," 245-246.
50. *Ibid.*, 247. Since the telegraphic cable also would have to pass through British Columbia, the approval of the British government was necessary. Seward instructed Charles F. Adams, U.S. Minister to Great Britain, to aid Collins in obtaining such rights. Adams was successful. See Seward to Adams, July 13, 1863, NA, *Instructions, G. B.*; Collins to F. W. Seward, Aug. 18, 1863, Dec. 31, 1863, and Feb. 8, 1864, NA, *Amoor River*. The Russian minister to the United States, Edward de Stoeckl, was awarded 300 shares in the Collins Line for "his distinguished aid and good offices . . . which greatly contributed to the advancement of the enterprise." Another 1000 shares were sent to Minister Cassius Clay for distribution to influential Russians.
51. Vevier, "Collins Line," 248-250.
52. *Ibid.*, 252.
53. Clay to Seward, Nov. 14, 1864, NA, *Despatches, Russia*.
54. Seward to Clay, Dec. 26, 1864, NA, *Instructions, Russia*.
55. *House Doc. #177*, 40 Cong. 2, p. 5 (hereafter cited as *House Doc. #177*).
56. In the winter of 1867, Western Union cancelled the building of the Collins Overland Line. The combination of Cyrus Field's successful laying of an Atlantic cable and the continued unwillingness of the Russian government to agree to a rebate of less than 40 per cent extinguished the line's chances for success. See Vevier, "Collins Line," 250-251.
57. Farrar, "McDonald and Alaska," 85-86.
58. *Ibid.*, 86-87.
59. "Memorial of the Legislature of Washington Territory to the President," received February, 1866, *House Doc. #177*, pp. 4-5; While the memorial was still before the Washington legislature, McDonald forwarded a printed copy to Secretary of State Seward with a long letter urging Seward to acquire such fishing privileges in Russian America for U.S. citizens as were enjoyed by them along the coasts of British America. McDonald to Seward, July 15, 1867, *Ibid.*, 58. In this letter McDonald refers to the earlier letter discussed, but I found no copy.
60. Farrar, "McDonald and Alaska," 89.
61. *House Doc. #177*, p. 4.
62. Lewis Goldstone, Memorial of Louis Goldstone, typed mss in Papers of Cornelius Cole, Powell Library, Dept. of Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles; Goldstone, "Testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee," May 1, 1876. *House Reports #623*, 44 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 120-121; Cornelius Cole to Victor J. Farrar, Sept. 10, 1923, in Farrar, "Senator Cole and the Purchase of Alaska," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XIV:243-44 (Oct. 1923); Cole was 101 years old when this letter was written, but Farrar claims that Cole was still very lucid. See also Cornelius Cole, *Memoirs*, 281-82 (New York: 1908). Samuel Brannan was a very active partner in the Goldstone group. Brannan had come to San Francisco in 1846, and in 1847 he founded the *California Star*, the parent newspaper of the *Alta California*. His numerous real estate ventures made him, according to the 1855 edition of the *Annals of San Francisco* (p. 752), "the wealthiest man . . . in all California." In the late 1850's and early 1860's Brannan invested his wealth, establishing banking, railway, telegraph, and express companies; see *Dictionary of Amer. Biog.* II:601-602. Also see Cole to Burke, Oct. 22, 1867, The Papers of Cornelius Cole, Powell Library, UCLA. For more on the company's founding, see Rudolf Glanz, *The Jews in American Alaska, 1867-1880*, p. 7 (New York: 1953).
63. Goldstone, "Memorial."
64. Goldstone or Sullivan (president of company) to Cole, April 10, 1866, *House Doc. #177*, p. 133. Cole was born in Lodi, New York (ten miles north of Ithaca), in 1822. He read law in the Auburn office of William H. Seward (Seward, Morgan, and Blatchford) in 1847-1848. For the rest of his life Cole regarded Seward as his mentor. He left for California in 1849 to seek his fortune in gold. For the next twelve years he maintained a constant correspondence with Seward on the political and economic conditions of California and the Pacific Northwest. In the early 1850's Cole urged Senator Seward to push for a Pacific coast survey, which Seward did in his 1852 report on whaling. The Seward Papers contain over fifty letters between the two men beginning in 1849

and continuing until Seward's tenure as secretary of state ended. See esp. Cole to Seward, Dec. 14, 1849; June 17, 1856; Nov. 15, 1850; June 19, 1856; June 3, 1860; Seward to Cole, Dec. 25, 1867. Also see Cole, *Memoirs*, 3, 97–98.

65. Cole to Burke, Dec. 4, 1866, Cole Papers.

66. *House Doc.* #177, p. 133.

67. Cole to Burke, Jan. 24, 1867, *Ibid.* (Italics in orig.).

68. Clay to Cole, Feb. 1, 1867, *House Doc.* #177, p. 133.

69. Cole to Burke, Feb. 23, 1867, Cole Papers.

70. Cole, *Memoirs*, pp. 282–283.

71. Cole to Burke, April 1, 1867, Cole Papers.

72. Cole to Burke, April 10, 1867, *Ibid.*

73. Gorchakov to Alexander, Dec. 1866, NA, "Cession of Alaska," Annex 13.

74. Hallie M. McPherson, "The Interest of William McKendree Gwin in the Purchase of Alaska, 1854–1861," *Pacific Historical Review* 11:29–30 (March 1934); Stuart R. Tompkins, *Alaska, Promyshlennik & Sourdough*, 174–75 (Norman, Okla.: 1945).

75. *New York Herald*, July 20, 1854; July 25, 1854; *London Times*, Aug. 8, 1854; *House Doc.* #177, p. 46; F. A. Golder, "The Purchase of Alaska," 412.

76. *House Doc.* #177, p. 46; Stoeckl, quoted in Golder, "The Purchase of Alaska," 412 (author's translation from the French).

77. Stoeckl to Nesselrode, Jan. 1856, in *Ibid.*, 413 (author's translation).

78. For a discussion of some particular aspects of Constantine Nikolaevich's plans for redirection of Russian policy, see W. E. Mosse, "Russia and the Levant, 1856–1862; Grand Duke Constantine Nikolaevich and the Russian Steam Navigation Company," *Journal of Modern History* 26:39–48 (March 1954).

79. Constantine to Gorchakov, Dec. 7, 1857 (o.s.). Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, translation of facsimile.

80. Gorchakov to Constantine (Dec., 1857), NA, RG 59, "Papers Relating to the Cession of Alaska," Annex 1. The National Archives lists this undated letter as December, 1856, but since it is a response to Constantine's letter of December 7, 1857, dealing with the cession of Russian America (footnote 79), this letter must have been written in December, 1857, not 1856.

81. Baron Ferdinand von Wrangell, "Concerning the Cession of the American Colonies to the Government of the United States," April 9, 1857, *Ibid.*, Annex 2 (emphasis in original).

82. "Memorandum Concerning the Cession to the United States of Our Possessions in North America," April, 1857 (tsar's notation date: April 29, 1857) *Ibid.*, Annex 3. The tsar was particularly annoyed that the American-Russian Commercial Company had been able to use the Crimean War as a lever to obtain a more favorable treaty in 1855 from the Russian company.

83. Stoeckl to Gorchakov, Nov. 13, 1857, *Ibid.*, Annex 5.

84. Stoeckl to Gorchakov, Dec. 2, 1857, *Ibid.*, Annex 4.

85. Stoeckl to Gorchakov, Jan. 4, 1860, NA, "Cession of Alaska," Annex 6 (author's translation). Gwin worked with Beverley C. Sanders, head of the American-Russian Commercial Company, during the Crimean War to get Sanders' company the trading rights to supply the Russian company, and, in the process, a more favorable contract with the Russians. See Benjamin P. Thomas, *Russian-American Relations, 1815–1867*, p. 115 (Baltimore: 1930). Capt. N. Golovnin, who was sent to Russian America by Emperor Alexander in 1860, complained about Gwin's enthusiasm for the Russian colony, stating that Senator Gwin and others had advanced the argument that "the Americans would have a perfect right to close their ports to Russian ships as long as our ports in Russian-America will not admit American vessels." Golovnin pointed out that "Senator Gwin was canvassing for a four-year term and therefore raised several questions to show their electors to what degree he was occupied with his country's welfare. With this object he advanced also the alleged desires of California businessmen to obtain free access to the Russian Colony." As far as Golovnin was concerned, Gwin was just another of those American politicians "whose whole working and striving is bent to the means of obtaining . . . the largest number of voters and by their help to be elected Representatives to Congress, i.e., to get a profitable position with all facilities for filling their pocket." Golovnin "Report on Colonies," 202–202.

86. Stoeckl to Gorchakov, July 12/24, 1867, NA, RG 59, "Cession of Alaska," Annex 43 (author's translation).

Connazionali, Stenterello, and Farfariello: Italian Variety Theater in San Francisco

DEANNA PAOLI GUMINA

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ON SUNDAY EVENING, APRIL 9, 1905, crowds of excited Italian *connazionali* (countrymen) jammed San Francisco's Apollo Hall, renamed for that evening Teatro Apollo, to hear the acclaimed Neapolitan *canzonettista*, Antonietta Pisanelli, and a troupe of hastily-gathered amateur performers sing their way through a varied program of songs and sketches. The performance, highlighted by the Signora's portrayal of the character "Santuzza" from the one-act drama, *Cavalleria Rusticana*, and followed by her role in the one-act farce, *Prestami Tua Moglia Per Dieci Minuti* (*Lend Me Your Wife For Ten Minutes*), had lived up to its billing which promised an extraordinary grand evening. The exciting performance also marked the debut of the Italian colony's first impresario, and under her direction, the emergence of the professional *Teatro Italiano* that was to become, for a time, a central social institution in the half-century-old San Francisco Italian community.¹

Until Signora Pisanelli's presentation, Italian theater-goers had been entertained by amateur drama groups, *compagnie filodrammatiche*, composed of more and less talented volunteers from social clubs in the Italian colony.² Although sporadic, their performances were well-received by Italian audiences anxious to hear their favorite operatic arias and folk songs sung in the melodic mother tongue. Plagued by a paucity of funds and uneven talent, however, these *compagnie filodrammatiche* were destined for extinction unless a director with a quick head for finances and a sharp ear for talent took the reins.

San Francisco variety theater found its impresario in the person of Antonietta Pisanelli, a vivacious, shrewd, and altogether remarkable personality whose knowledge of Neapolitan songs and energy for new enterprises were just what was needed in the Italian community. Pisanelli had emigrated to America as a small child and made her debut in New York in 1895. Her love for theater carried her to Philadelphia, Chicago, and New Haven where she sang and acted, and back to New York where she helped organize four or five theaters. A series of personal tragedies—the loss of her mother, her husband, and her youngest child—plagued her personal life, however, and in a desperate move, she fled the East for California in 1904. Encouraged by the response to her brilliant performance at the Teatro Apollo, she decided to settle in San Francisco and to accept the challenge of molding the city's amateur drama clubs into a professional popular theater company.

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Scene Drammatiche Popolari di G. Verga




| | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Tarabochia, A. DIAGRAMMA | 3379-1, 1948-1949 | Z. Bencic, L. Mordacci | Z. Camilleri, P. Baccarini |
| Scutellaria, N. de A. DESANCI | 3380-1, 1948-1949 | N. de A. Desanci | 3381-1, 1948-1949 |

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On April 9, 1905, the North Beach Italian community poured into Apollo Hall for a stunning performance by the versatile Antonietta Pisanelli, described in the program (left). She soon became the impressario of Italian variety theater.

From the Pacific Street Apollo Hall which she had rented for her own debut, Signora Pisanelli coached her aspiring musical family. Fumbling singers and actors were quickly replaced with smooth, well-trained voices, and within a brief period, Pisanelli's hard work paid off. A steady increase in nightly attendance convinced her that her troupe of artists were adequately accomplished to support small-scale productions. With this in mind, the Signora Impresario soon moved her theater from the cramped quarters of the Teatro Apollo to the larger Bersaglieri Hall on the corner of Stockton and Union streets across from Washington Square.³

Leased for ten years, the new Teatro Bersaglieri became the social gathering place in the colony. Originally built as a theater, the Bersaglieri underwent a major renovation within twenty-four hours when city fire officials ordered it closed unless Pisanelli complied with fire safety regulations. Compelled by this show of muscle, Pisanelli reconverted her theater into a combination cafe-chantant, theater, opera house, and club. Renamed the Circolo Familiare Pisanelli, the theater was divided into two sections. The neat rows of theater seats

were removed and replaced with tables and chairs in the fashion of a cafe-chantant. In lieu of an admission fee, refreshments were served in this area. Overlooking the family circle, observed opera buff J. M. Scanland in the *Overland Monthly*, was the balcony where the "gallery gods" sat and ate their rock candy and almond confections.⁴

The lengthy repertoire offered by the Circolo changed every evening to satisfy the melodramatic tastes of the audience. As American theater lovers who ventured into the Circolo noted, the Italian audiences exhibited not only an inherent love of music but were natural-born performers who knew their music note for note. At approximately 8 P.M., or whenever the theater was filled, the evening performance commenced. The show consisted of an endless potpourri of opera, comedy, farce, tragedy, duets, solos, and song fests. Between the featured acts of entertainment ran intermissions which were a show in themselves. Usually, Signora Pisanelli sang operatic arias or the favorite Neapolitan folk songs of the *connazionali*, while members of the cast waited nervously to grab back the spotlight from her long enough to charm the audience with their own voices. On the nights when drama replaced "Gems From The Opera," the musical interlude was enhanced with short burlesque skits or one-act character sketches.⁵

To expect the unexpected from both the audience and performers was the cardinal rule of the *Teatro Italiano*. After a hard day's work, Italian audiences were too restless to sit through any performance which did not allow them the pleasure of active participation in the festivities. Throughout the history of Italian theater, the most stimulating moments came when the audience, thoroughly aroused by the performance, energetically participated in the program.

Pisanelli distributed this program which doubled as a fan on hot evenings at Bersaglieri Hall.



Spontaneity, vitality, variety, and outbursts of boisterous enthusiasm dominated an evening's entertainment, as the audience never permitted the actors to forget that they were the final judges of the soir  e. In keeping with this spirit, memorization of lines, strict attention to format, and display of elaborate stage sets were not considered essential to the nature of the Italian theater. Instead, the most noteworthy requisite possessed by an actor or singer was his ability to improvise lines and create the necessary scenic effects through gesture and pantomime.⁶

Then, less than a year after its opening, the flowering of the Circolo was interrupted on the morning of April 18, 1906, when a destructive earthquake and fire destroyed North Beach. Three days prior to this historic event, Pisanelli had sold her Circolo for \$20,000 and was on her way to the city of Saint Louis in the hopes of furthering her own career. By 1907 her fling in the Midwest had ended, and she returned to San Francisco to gather and rebuild the shattered remnants of her beloved theater.

With the help of her young protege, Mario Scarpa, the two singers opened three small nickelodeon-type theaters: the Iris Theatre on Broadway Street, the Bijou Theatre on Montgomery Avenue (later Columbus Avenue) and Stockton Street, and the Beach Theatre on the corner of Vallejo Street and Montgomery Avenue across from St. Francis of Assisi Catholic Church. Eager to restore the Italian theater's prominence to its pre-earthquake vitality, the Italian *comazionali* flocked to see the featured nickel and dime shows.⁷

Small, inadequate, and obviously lacking the prestigious appearance of the Italian colony's former theatrical houses, these three theaters with their flickering movies and vaudeville acts introduced a new dimension to Italian variety theater. Because Italians placed great social emphasis upon the province from which another Italian has originated, the presentation of a regionally-oriented style of comedy in these new theaters was so appealing that it rivaled the performances of the most celebrated opera.

While the main parts of a tragedy or comedy were spoken in the pure Italian, i.e., in the Tuscan, dialect, idiomatic expressions and slang terms spoken in one of the many Italian dialects purposely were added to the act to amuse the members of the audience from that region.⁸ The focal point of each play was the entrance of a special character representative of one of the Italian regions. From Naples came the caricature mimick, *Pulcinello*, while from Sicily hailed the fond *Pasquino*. The Piedmontese regionals laughed at their *Gianduia*, the Milanese at their *Menaghino*, the Venetians at their *Zacometto*, and the Tuscans at their *Stenterello*.

Emerging as the most popular of all the regional caricatures was the eighteenth-century Florentine, *Stenterello*. Originally a political creation, the *Stenterello* was an anti-French xenophobist who strongly favored Italian unification and independence.⁹ As the years passed, the term *Stenterello* became synonymous for the Florentine man on the streets. Impulsive, generous, and a lover of poetic justice, he could also be cleverly stupid and arrogant.

It was at the Bijou Theatre that the first *Stenterello* performance was staged. Playing the lead was Arturo Godi, a member of the Ccsare Company from New York, who was recognized as the most outstanding *Stenterello* actor in the Italian

colony. First appearing on stage in the middle of a scene, his make-up included purple circles around his eyes and red-and-white blotches on his face, and his hair was styled in a queue. Costumed in a florid jacket, tight leggings, flashy vest, black breeches, and dainty slippers, Godi became an absent-minded, garrulous and fidgety man who spent his leisure time devising ways to woo rich widows and acquire their fortunes.

Without regard for plot or characters, the *Stenterello* nonchalantly walked on stage and literally intruded on Shakespeare, Verne, and Dumas. To the relief of the audience, the *Stenterello* had entered during a tense and moving scene when the heroine wrung her hands in anguish in the face of a threatening villain. Godi would point to the actors, wrinkle his face in a silly grimace, and offer a witty line in the Tuscan dialect. His lines were deliberately out of context with the play, as he joked about current events and local personalities. He always played the clown, and he always brought the house down with hysterical laughter.

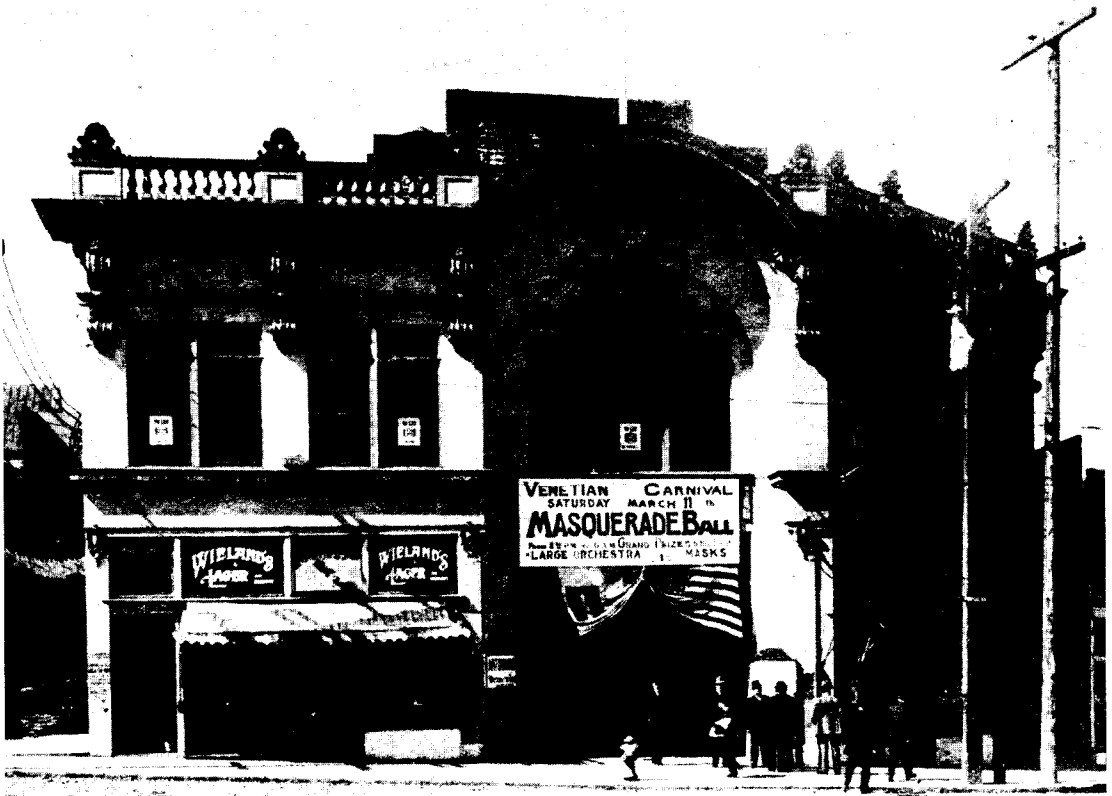
The popularity of the *Stenterello* lasted nearly one decade. A symbol of the cultural heritage left behind in Italy, this eighteenth-century personality served as a living bond between the immigrant colony and the mother country. However, as generations of Italian immigrants adjusted to the American ways of life, the regional characters with provincial thinking were no longer relevant to the new life in the United States. Several years later, a refreshing new stock character, the Americanized Italian, emerged to replace the *Stenterello*.

By 1909, the Italian theater moved its location once again. Signora Pisanelli, with the help of city boss Abe Ruef, accumulated the necessary finances to acquire the Russian Orthodox Church on Powell Street between Union and Filbert streets. The formal opening of the new Washington Square Theatre on April 10, 1909, was a grand event. For the first time, the Italian colony proudly boasted of a theater house with a seating capacity of almost one thousand. The theater was opened daily to the public from 2 P.M. until 5 P.M., and from 6:30 P.M. to 11 P.M. Sunday afternoon matinees began at 1 P.M. The price of admission ranged from a nickel to a dime.¹⁰

The famous *Compagnia Comica Drammatica Italiana* opened the Washington Square Theatre and played until August, 1910, when the legitimate drama company of Antonio Maori, also from New York, was booked. A great actor in his own right, Maori was determined to maintain the high traditions demanded of a "teatro di prosa" in the Italian variety theater. The performances of the Maori company were far from the ordinary. Rather, the company introduced the highest level of entertainment ever achieved in the North Beach *Teatro Italiano*.¹¹

Under the direction of Maori, the years from 1910 through 1912 marked the peak of Italian variety theater. Maori successfully produced the plays of Dumas, Goethe, Schontau, Sudermann, Sardou, and Shakespeare. The *connazionali* responded so enthusiastically to Maori's repertory that Shakespeare headed the billing once a week. Just as Shakespeare had known that an Italian plot, theme, and setting pleased most box offices, Maori presented those plays heavy with passion and drama. Prices for these performances were raised from the nickel-odeon class to a dignified fifteen and seventy-five cents.

Unfortunately, Antonio Maori returned to New York in 1912, and his talented company disbanded, leaving the Italian theater virtually silent for several seasons.



With the help of Abe Ruef, Pisanelli purchased the Russian Orthodox Church on Powell Street between Union and Filbert and erected in its place the Washington Square Theatre which opened on April 10, 1909.



The only bright spot for Italian audiences came during the summer of 1914 with the engagement of the admired Italian tragedienne, Mimi Aguglia, at the Cort Theatre (later the Curran Theatre) on Ellis Street. Miss Aguglia was so delighted with the warm reception given her by the American and Italian members of the audience that she extended her tour to include a seven-day performance at the Washington Square Theatre in August.¹² But upon her departure, the *Teatro Italiano* fell into deep depression. The years between 1914 and 1917 became known as the quiet years of Italian theater, and the Washington Square Theatre was sold to an American theater group.

Undaunted, Signora Pisanelli attempted to rekindle some spark among the Italian audiences with the re-introduction of the *Stenterello*, but this, too, proved disappointing. Italian audiences felt themselves too removed from the archaic *Stenterello* to be interested in his antics. In his place, the Signora then presented the *Farfariello*, a blend of fourteenth-century Italian harlequin and the modern pantomine style of Charlie Chaplin. The *Farfariello* played an important role in expressing the feelings of the Italian audiences who were attempting to fit into an American world. A product of the immigrant's life in an American city, the inspiration for this character came from the *connazionali* of Little Italies across the United States.

When Edoardo Migliaccio starred as the *Farfariello*, he came on stage in the same fashion as Godi. His make-up was exaggerated, and his costume was deliberately styled to invoke laughter. Borrowing from the *Stenterello* the use of grimaces, gestures, and pantomine, the *Farfariello* mimicked the *cafone*, a buffoon who adopted American clothes, mannerisms, and slang, and yet was no more American than the most recent arrival from Italy. Audiences thoroughly enjoyed Migliaccio's caricatures of the iceman, the fruit dealer, the merchant, and personalities, including Enrico Caruso. Poking fun at the audience, the *Farfariello* ridiculed the immigrant's tendency to Italianize English words and incorporate this "North Beach Italian" into the vocabulary of the proper Italian.

The *Farfariello* had a healthy effect upon the Italian colony. Conceived during a transitory period before World War I when the majority of Italians were immigrants confused by the difficult process of Americanization, the *Farfariello* helped to ease them into their new roles as American-Italians.¹³

From 1917 until the Great Depression, the Italian variety theater suffered the pains of neglect. The First World War, the passage of restrictive immigration laws, the movement of Italian families away from North Beach into other districts of San Francisco and throughout the Bay Area, and the sting of discrimination which the young American-Italians associated with the "immigrant things" of their parent's generation meant the decline of the Italian theater.

With the hope of rekindling enthusiasm for variety theater, devotees continued to stage occasional operatic performances. In January, 1917, Signora Pisanelli opened the Liberty Theatre on Broadway Street between Grant Avenue and Stockton Street in the hopes of generating new life into the dying theater, and she was fortunate to book two troupes of vivacious performers. The *Compagnia Italiana* of Teresa de Matienzo opened the Liberty and was followed by Alfred Aratoli's *Citta di Firenze* three months later. Small, local opera companies such as the San Carlos Opera Company continued to play the North Beach theaters,

but the high cost of production and the expensive salaries of the performers imposed limitations far too great for the Italian audiences to support on a nightly basis.

Nonetheless, a final effort was made during the war years. A group of Italian singers under the direction of Augustino Serantino from Ravenna staged twenty-five-cent performances three to five times a week. These "Two-Bit Operas," as they were commonly known, were staged at the Liberty Theatre with only a piano for accompaniment. By 1918, Serantino moved his troupe into the Washington Square Theatre which had been repurchased by the Italian theater groups. Serantino later recalled that the easiest of all tasks was the recruitment of bit parts. He merely stood on the corner of Columbus Avenue and Stockton Street and called out roles while the Italian vocalists knocked each other over to stand out and be heard.¹⁴

While Serantino concentrated on opera, Signora Pisanelli opened another variety theater on June 15, 1924, on Green Street at the corner of Columbus Avenue. Convinced that there might still be hope for the shows she had produced nineteen years earlier, she spared little to attract audiences to her Teatro Alessandro Eden. Its decor was typical of the 1920's with huge panels depicting reclining nudes and costumed couples dancing Latin tangoes, painted on a background sea of lipstick reds, smudged yellows, and yelling blues. The first floor of the building housed a moving picture theater, while on the second floor, the old vaudeville acts were repeated in what she called "the little theater." Between acts, the restaurant on the third floor, which functioned clandestinely as a speakeasy, provided the audiences with a new spot to sit and gossip.¹⁵

By 1925, however, the Italian variety theater had died. The Washington Square Theatre was sold to a Jewish company and renamed the Milano Theatre. However, it, too, withered until the once-famed Italian theater house became the ultra-modern Palace Theatre. Signora Pisanelli sold her Teatro Alessandro Eden in 1927, and it became the Goldtree and finally the Green Street Theatre. For those old-timers who nostalgically cherished an evening filled with provincial songs and drama, the Italian Hour on the radio assumed the role of the old theater, while the listener's imagination recreated scenes from past performances.

Clearly, the formative years of Italian theater had a decisive impact on the social development of the Italian North Beach colony. Sharing the same desires of all immigrant groups to transplant the alluring and treasured cultural amenities of the mother country, the Italian theater provided the perfect media through which the Italian immigrants exhibited their "Italianness."

In addition to filling this psychological need for reassurance in a new world, the performances of the early theater were inexpensive. While San Francisco theater houses charged prices too exorbitant for the pockets of the working people, the *Teatro Italiano* charged anywhere from a nickel to a half-dollar. Signora Pisanelli's theater, and the succession of North Beach theaters which followed, based their success and fame upon this simple fact of life.

One final contribution for which the *Teatro Italiano* must be remembered is the preservation of opera. While San Francisco audiences have always been appreciative of opera, those who were not true opera buffs or did not understand the Italian language were relieved when operatic performances began to be pre-



Arturo Godi (right) and Alfred Araroli (above) played the popular stenterello character—an eighteenth-century Florentine man-on-the-street—in countless San Francisco variety theater productions.



Mimi Aguglia, the famed Italian tragedienne posed (left) as Madame X, played a hold-over engagement in San Francisco in 1914, but with her departure Teatro Italiano returned to its moribund state.

sented in English.¹⁶ Only in North Beach could a devoted opera buff hear the captivating musical strains and libretto of his favorite Italian composer. Several years after Signora Pisanelli passed from the scene, it was the North Beach friends of a Neapolitan conductor turned music teacher who contributed the little money they could spare so that he could fulfill a dream and produce opera in San Francisco in a hall befitting the music he loved. For this alone the *Teatro Italiano* must be valued—for having nurtured that golden moment on the evening of October 15, 1932, when Gaetano Merola entered the orchestra pit, raised his baton, and filled San Francisco's glorious new War Memorial Opera House with the opening notes of *La Tosca*.

THE PHOTOS on pages 28, 29, and 35 were gathered from the Italian community for publication in Lawrence Estavan, ed., *The Italian Theater in San Francisco*, Theater Research Project, Monograph XXI (1939); photo of theater on page 32 from Bonanza Section of *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 26, 1960; photo of church on page 32 from San Francisco Public Library.

NOTES

1. Lawrence Estavan, ed., *The Italian Theater in San Francisco*, San Francisco Theater Research Series (WPA Project), Monograph XXI, vol. 10 (San Francisco: 1939), p. 6.
2. Lawrence Estavan, ed., *The History of Opera in San Francisco, Part I*, San Francisco Theater Research Series (WPA Project), Monograph XVII, vol. 7 (San Francisco: 1939), p. 5.
3. Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 10.
4. J. M. Scanland, "An Italian Mosaic," *Overland Monthly*, XLVII:328 (April, 1906); Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 6–7, 10–12.
5. Scanland, *Overland Monthly*, XLVII:328.
6. Scanland, *Overland Monthly*, XLVII:330, 18–19.
7. Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 21.
8. Scanland, *Overland Monthly*, XLVII:327.
9. Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 22–27; Scanland, *Overland Monthly*, XLVII:330.
10. Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 27–28.
11. Estavan, *The History of the Opera*, 28; Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 33–39.
12. "Mimi Aguglia In Italian At Cort," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 14, 1914, p. 4; "Mimi Aguglia Opens Her Cort Engagement Tonight," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 13, 1914, p. 8; G. G. Bertini, "Mimi Aguglia, Fuoco Del Dio," in *L'Italia Daily News*, reprint *San Francisco Call and Post*, July 14, 1914, p. 5.
13. Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 50–55.
14. Estavan, *The History of the Opera*, 68–69, 80.
15. "Church Remodeled as Theater," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 26, 1924, p. 4; "Good By Green Street Theatre, and Your Bath Tub Gin," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 21, 1955, p. 10.
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Progressive Reform in Los Angeles under Mayor Alexander, 1909-1913

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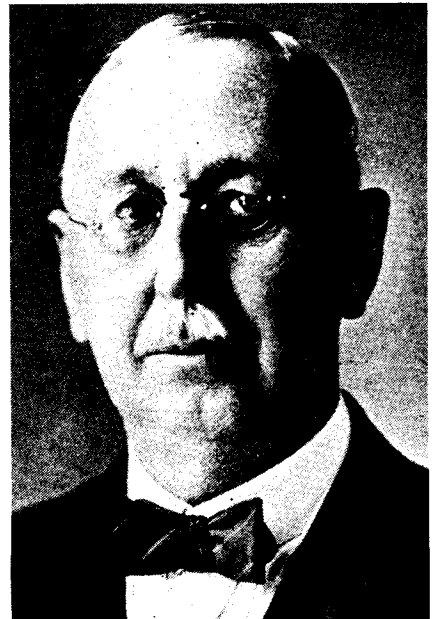
PROGRESSIVISM, THE FIRST MAJOR REFORM MOVEMENT of twentieth-century America, has experienced a long and checkered historiographical career. Formally ushered in on the national level in 1901 by a youthful Republican president, Theodore Roosevelt, and virtually a dead issue by the advent of World War I during Democrat Woodrow Wilson's two-term presidency, progressivism raised high hopes for the future of just and efficient government. In recent times its disappointments have triggered severe criticism and damaging behaviorist interpretations as well as evoking more sustained positive evaluations of the movement's achievements.

Rejecting both the traditional view that reform-minded activists in the Progressive Era could be understood as idealistic crusaders seeking honest government and newer theories that they comprised a psychologically confused elite seeking to reclaim lost social status, historians are now offering more searching and critical analysis of reform activities on various governmental levels in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Especially important are the studies of J. Joseph Huthmacher, Samuel Hays, and Robert Wiebe which see municipal reform attempts in these years as a struggle among social classes for control of the metropolis. While Huthmacher claims that urban workers and middle-class elements collaborated for a time to achieve reform and later parted company over particular ethnocultural issues, Hays and Wiebe contend that progressive reform resulted from the efforts of middle and upper-class groups to apply to city government the techniques of systematization and administrative control being developed in business and the professions.¹ Building on these conceptual frameworks, students of municipal progressivism have recently studied reform movements in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, Toledo, Cincinnati, Seattle, and San Francisco.² Curiously enough, the largest city of the western United States, Los Angeles, has received little attention, despite its leadership in various areas of reform and its solid record of accomplishment in the early twentieth century.³ Progressivism in Los Angeles and its attempts at municipal reform are the subjects of the study which follows.

In line with the general evolution of municipal politics since the Civil War, turn-of-the-century Los Angeles found itself under a system of decision-making rooted in machine politics. Historian Robert Fogelson describes the system most succinctly:



In 1909 political control in Los Angeles (photo at Broadway and Fourth) was grasped from the hands of machine politicians by reform progressives. Socially-concerned John R. Haynes (below) catalyzed the movement in 1859 when he founded the Direct Legislation League, and Charles D. Willard (left), editor of the Pacific Outlook, charted the movement's victories.



"The machine's essential task was to pick candidates and elect them to office; its success assured regional support for the Southern Pacific [Railroad], sympathetic consideration for business concerns, and extended tenure for officeholders. To this end, the transcontinental railroad provided leadership, the corporate utilities, public works contractors, and liquor dealers . . . supplied funds, and the municipal employees donated labor."⁴

Directed by Walter Parker, land-tax agent of the Southern Pacific and boss of the Republican party in Southern California, the machine maintained itself as a powerful deterrent to political reform by adapting its operations to the city's party system. While differences over principle and strategy generated considerable conflict between regulars and reform-minded independents within the major party organizations of several large cities across the country,⁵ in Los Angeles most Democrats and Republicans practiced the politics of consensus. Lacking significant ideological differences, the parties called for a variety of reforms and sought to maintain the traditional balance between the demands of the business community and the expectations of the electorate. Thus, the machine was able effectively to control the politics of the city.⁶

By the turn of the century, however, this system began to face attack from younger members of professional and business groups who were eager and determined to establish a new political order and power base. These reformers, unlike many of the earlier mugwumps who had come from older mercantile families, were not using the reform movement to defend high social status. Rather, their unexceptional social origins make it likely that they joined the reform movement in part, to attain more prestige, respectability, and upward social mobility. Reflecting on the origins of progressivism in Los Angeles, reformer William J. Carr noted that there were "pronounced rumblings of discontent and resentment among . . . younger people" and soon "they became quite a militant bunch in carrying on."⁷

Convinced that the government was in the hands of a "corrupt minority," Dr. John Randolph Haynes took the first significant progressive action in Los Angeles in 1895 when he founded the Direct Legislation League, an organization which included a number of prominent political reformers. In 1900, it persuaded the electorate to approve a program which became popular throughout the nation, an amendment providing the citizenry with the power to initiate legislation, veto laws, and recall elected officials.⁸ In conjunction with this campaign, a more important effort to sever the arteries of influence which extended from the machine into the appointive offices was launched. Considerably influenced by the fact that public employment in a number of cities, including Boston, New York, Chicago, New Orleans, and San Francisco, was under civil service regulations, the reformers then pushed hard to institute civil service reform in their city. In December, 1902, the electorate approved a charter amendment that established the Los Angeles Board of Civil Service Commissioners and required that applicants for city jobs be selected by competitive examinations and appointees removed only for incompetence.⁹ Three years later Charles D. Willard, secretary of the Municipal League of Los Angeles and editor of the progressive newspaper, *Pacific Outlook*, proudly informed the National Municipal League that implementation of the measure resulted in a "decided improvement in . . . devotion to

duty on the part of city employees” and also a “vast gain on the political side in removing the element of bribery that exists in the spoils system.”¹⁰

Confident that these developments were eroding the “invisible” dimension of machine politics, the progressive reformers eagerly awaited and planned for an opportunity to gain complete control of the city government. In 1906 a number of prominent business and professional men organized a Non-Partisan City Central Committee for electing “progressives” to office. Headed by Meyer Lissner, a wealthy attorney, and Marshall Stimson, a young graduate of Harvard Law School, the committee nominated a slate of independents, including Lec C. Gates for mayor on a nonpartisan ticket. Although Gates was defeated by the Democratic candidate, Arthur C. Harper, the committee elected sixteen of their twenty-three candidates and at the same time aroused some interest among other middle-class groups in a permanent organization devoted mainly to political reform.¹¹ Not until two years later, however, did Lissner, Stimson, and Edward A. Dickson, associate editor of the *Los Angeles Express*, organize a Good Government group dedicated to wresting power from the machine. By this time Harper’s administration was under heavy fire from an assistant prosecuting attorney, Thomas L. Woolwine, who had uncovered evidence of graft that appeared to involve the mayor and a number of prominent businessmen in the city. Enraged by Woolwine’s refusal to cease his investigations, Harper removed the muck-raking attorney from office. Meanwhile, however, several newspapers began conducting inquiries of their own. In February, 1909, the *Los Angeles Times* printed the report of a grand jury investigation that revealed the payment of money from underworld establishments for “protection” to several joint-stock companies owned by Harper and some business associates. Capitalizing on a wave of public indignation to this exposure, the reformers secured the passage of more progressive charter amendments. The new amendments instituted direct primaries, nonpartisan elections, and election of councilmen at large and pressed further for the removal of machine politics from the city government.¹²

With the support of Edwin T. Earl, owner of the *Los Angeles Express* since 1901 and an invaluable sponsor of the progressive reform movement, the progressives circulated a petition for recall which forthrightly accused the mayor of failing to “enforce impartially the laws and ordinances of the city.” Having gathered the required number of signatures, representatives from middle-class organizations, such as the Municipal League, the Merchants and Manufacturers’ Association, and the City Club, searched desperately for an anti-machine politician to run as the Good Government candidate. Finally they persuaded George Alexander, a former county supervisor, to accept the nomination.¹³ Shortly before the election in the spring of 1909, Harper, ostensibly abandoned by the leaders of the machine, resigned from office, and Alexander carried enough middle-class wards to defeat the Socialist Party candidate, Fred Wheeler, by a narrow margin of 1,678 votes.¹⁴

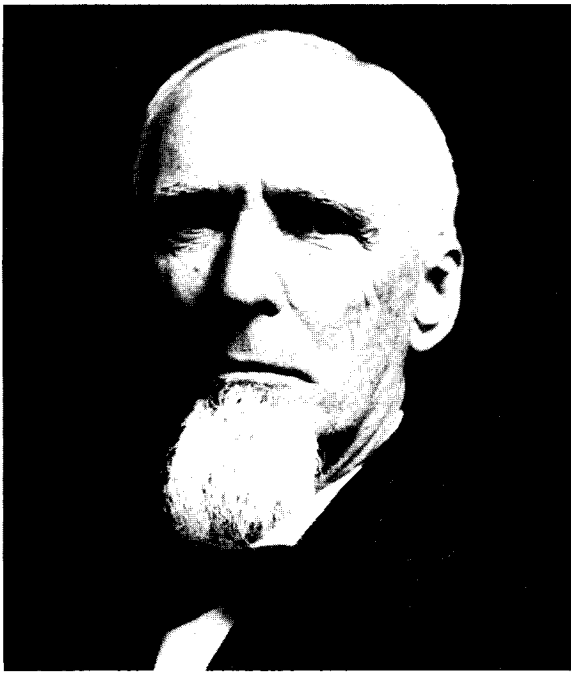
Compared to the bold and resourceful leadership of other progressive mayors like Brand Whitlock of Toledo and William J. Gaynor of New York,¹⁵ Alexander did not appear to be the kind of man who could provide the dynamism needed to capture public support for efficient government. Following a career as a farmer and merchant in Iowa, he came to Los Angeles in the late 1880’s and later served

as deputy in the offices of the county recorder and city superintendent. Identified with the independent or "progressive" wing of the Republican party, his record as a county supervisor from 1900 to 1908 was one of opposition to the machine. While a few reformers who distrusted political organizations of any kind believed that his affiliation with the Republican party indicated that partisanship would continue to be the norm in city hall, Alexander was close enough to many progressives in political attitudes and goals to be satisfactory. Denying that he was controlled by a "clique or faction," he promised with typical progressive moderation that his administration would meet the popular demand for "honest business government" by resisting the influence of "certain corporations," maintaining "safe and sound" conditions for merchants and manufacturers, protecting the property of homeowners, and assuring workers of employment.¹⁶

Accustomed to rule under mayors who usually appointed or removed people on the basis of political persuasion rather than general competence, the reformers waited with intense curiosity for Alexander's selections for various positions in the government. Needing the consent of a "conservative" council for removals on the one hand and pressured by reform elites on the other, the mayor sought to adjust nonpartisanship to stern executive direction. To his chagrin, several members of the boards of public works, water, and civil service refused to resign and reiterated their aversion to any substantial revision of administrative policies and procedures.¹⁷ (In Los Angeles, as in other large cities experiencing a comparably growing complexity of formal authorities, such bureaucratic intransigence, coupled with functional divisions within the boards, had evolved into what one political scientist described as "islands of functional power" before which even the most "radical" mayor was relatively helpless. Few political reformers recognized this problem in the Progressive Era, and even if more did, they could hardly have been expected to find solutions when to the present day most public officials confront similar situations.¹⁸)

Equally frustrating to Mayor Alexander was the difficulty in finding the "best men" to fill positions on the fire, parks, police, and health boards which had been left vacant by the resignation of all sixteen members. Partly because the positions were nonsalaried and partly because the associated actions often provoked intense criticism from various civic groups, many reformers remained reluctant to labor under such conditions and preferred to stay on the sidelines where they could easily abandon the mayor for becoming too "political" in his policies. After considerable prodding from Alexander several progressives, who had been active in the recall, finally agreed to serve on the commissions which were expected to carry much of the burden of governmental efficiency. Among the appointees were five businessmen, two attorneys, two physicians, and a college professor.¹⁹

In evaluating the evolution of political reform in Los Angeles, Meyer Lissner informed a gathering of the City Club in April, 1909, that the "character of the appointments made by Mr. Alexander assures a . . . rational, conservative and decent administration."²⁰ Few party professionals found this situation satisfactory, however. To meet the increasing expenses of elections and the expansion of party machinery, they were highly dependent financially upon the extralegal assessments of elected and appointed officials, and they were not prepared to lose



In 1909, with characteristic moderation, former city superintendent Alexander made campaign promises for "honest business government," resistance to undue influence of "certain corporations" (specifically, the Southern Pacific), and property protection. After 1911 Alexander turned his attention to social services and liberal improvements for a greater segment of the Los Angeles citizenry.

much of this revenue because of the nonpartisan posture of several officials and the possible elimination of various administrative posts.²¹ To their discomfort, Alexander, believing that a "vast amount" of money was being "foolishly spent to provide positions for politicians" and intent on getting the "most efficient service," abolished some offices and threatened several party hacks with dismissal if they refused to resign. Meanwhile, the *Los Angeles Times*, which supported the conservative wing of the Republican party, charged that the underlying motive behind such actions was to build a coalition around the mayor for the coming December, 1909, election.²² Aside from its own political bias, the *Times* had aptly detected the emergence of an "executive-centered" system in the city. Well before the progressive period, divided responsibility had invited power to grow up outside the formal machinery of government, and, in the process, the lines of administrative authority became controlled to a considerable extent by the machine. But with the advent of progressive reform, the mayor and appointive administrators were able to exercise greater control over both the formation and execution of public policy.

Inspired by this gradual realignment of decision-making power in the government, the reformers welcomed the regular elections in December, 1909, as the long awaited opportunity to wrest power from the machine. Before the election, the *Los Angeles Herald* proclaimed that "never in the history of the city were the laws so thoroughly and completely enforced as they are today." In the same vein, the Good Government Organization heartily sponsored Alexander's re-election for providing "splendid administration" and having "well served the people." Overlooking the careful exclusion of labor from the reform campaign, the mayor reminded the electorate that he had assumed office in a "crisis in our city's affairs" and promised to maintain "sound and efficient government."²³ Drawing support from the city's growing middle and upper class, Alexander won election over the regular Republican candidate by 20,191 votes to 16,964, and all of the other offices went to the progressives. "If we don't make good now in the city . . . and hold our ground," Lissner wrote to Wisconsin progressive Robert La Follette, "it

will be our fault and the general sentiment seems to be that we have . . . the machine on the run. . . ."²⁴

From the standpoint of nonpartisanship, it was logical for the progressives to maintain the rhetoric of "classless" politics and continue appealing to a vague notion of public interest. Office-holding reformers, however, found the framework difficult and were forced to adapt to and function within an apparatus of decision-making quite different from the lines of authority associated with business and professional life. Furthermore, growing hostility between labor organizations and major business interests required specific policies that would effect the main sources of support for the administration. In keeping with the sentiments of the middle and upper classes who interpreted democracy in terms of property rights and assumed that social control should be in the hands of well-educated and respectable people, the "structural" progressives in Los Angeles were unreceptive to the desires of workers to improve the social and economic status of the underprivileged in the city and, as elected officials, pressed mainly for a government to be conducted by experts according to the corporate ideals of economy and efficiency. "We are going to have a real business administration—not narrow and illiberal in the sense that the machine tried to make people believe it would be," Lissner declared, "but just the sort of an administration Mayor Alexander has been giving so far as a machine council would permit him to. The new Council will do public business like great private business is done."²⁵ Similarly, S. C. Graham, former chairman of the recall campaign committee and member of the police commission, spoke of the "freedom in the administration of public affairs from the dictation of political bosses and the influence of partisan considerations. . . ."²⁶

Realizing that this corporate notion of government was inadequate for meeting the needs of the city, social welfare progressives insisted that the drive for efficient administration had to be integrated into a broad program of social and economic reform if the public were to be served effectively. Welfare did not simply involve the extension of adequate public services to all segments of Los Angeles society. Rather, it meant that the government should alleviate class stratification by guaranteeing equal economic opportunity in the community and establishing programs designed to improve living conditions in poorer sectors of the city. As leader of the Direct Legislation League and Christian Club, Dr. John R. Haynes sought to enlist support from his reform colleagues for the abolition of the contract system on public works, adequate housing for low-income groups, more parks and playgrounds, and extension of the principle of municipal ownership of public utilities. He argued that political reform would be incomplete and insecure without such measures. Addressing the Sunset Club, an organization composed primarily of professional men committed to social reform, another social welfare progressive, Rufus W. Burnham, former president of the club, declared that the chances for a "fairer distribution of wealth" depended upon the government either providing direct services or securing the "interests of citizens through proper regulation and control of private individuals. . . ."²⁷ In promoting these views through the editorial columns of the *Pacific Outlook*, editor Charles D. Willard called for social reforms such as tenement inspection, extermination of diseases, control of liquor traffic, child-labor

restrictions, and abolition of poverty. This comprehensive program, he urged, would offer an opportunity for progressivism to function on a level of government closest to the citizenry.²⁸

Both groups of progressives, however, overlooked the fact that the strength of their movement depended upon the ability of the administration to merge their contrasting emphases. Confronted with the diverse programs, Mayor Alexander focused upon those issues which appeared to cut across class lines and to give the impression that his administration acted in the interests of all the people. In keeping with the rhetoric of nonpartisanship, he dismissed several people from various commissions for alleged incompetence and political interests. Choosing to ignore the fact that a number of the new appointees had little technical expertise and were selected mainly because of their social prominence, Willard's *Pacific Outlook* remarked in June, 1910, that the city was getting the "service of the best and ablest men of the community." Indeed, by 1911 the government had erected several fire and police stations, expanded and re-equipped the fire department, launched a reconstruction of city parks, modernized the police and street departments, quelled the exploitation of municipal employees by underworld loansharks, and secured the approval of a \$6.5 million bond issue for harbor and power development.²⁹

Admirably complementing these developments was the new city regulation of public utilities. Responding to the cry of the mayor that the public "must not weaken before the flattery and plausible arguments of the great corporations," the Municipal League drafted an initiative petition proposing the formation of a Board of Public Utilities. Passed by the electorate in December, 1909, the ordinance created an appointive commission empowered to examine earnings and propose rates, investigate complaints, and provide recommendations on all applications for franchises. In 1910 a number of ordinances based upon recommendations from the public utilities commission were passed by the council to regulate rates for water, gas, electricity, and telephone service.³⁰ In 1911 utility experts employed by the commission recommended an upward adjustment of electric and telephone rates, and the commission referred the proposals to the council. After careful assessment of the position of labor groups and various improvement associations who opposed this policy, the council rejected the recommendations for higher rates. In addition to supporting the council's action, Alexander and several administrative officials devised plans for a municipal power project involving the distribution of power along the projected Owens Valley aqueduct, whose waters would fall several thousand feet and generate almost a million kilowatts. They also sponsored the transformation of the water commission into the Board of Public Service in March, 1911, in order to allow the city to operate a municipal water and electricity service.³¹

Reaction to the flurry of changes came swiftly. Feeling these developments to be inconsistent with the progressives' promise to be "fair both to the public and to the companies" and having had, in the words of commission-member Lissner, "our usefulness . . . destroyed by our own supposed friends," members of the commission resigned in July, 1911, after more disagreement with the mayor and council over rates.³²

Imprisoned by their vision of a nonpartisan order, many structuralist progres-

sives outside public office failed to see these resignations as evidence of serious weakness within the reform government. For them, the administration appeared to be a neatly stratified system led by the mayor at the helm who worked through subordinates in a defined chain of command. The conflict over utility regulation, however, suggested the existence of crucial unresolved differences over public policy. Though the progressive administration was indeed a coordination of policies by the mayor who drew upon the skills and resources of new bureaucratic elites, Alexander, rather than being at the top of a pyramid, was at the center of intersecting lines of authority. In effect he was held responsible for the conduct and performance of all his appointive officials, and, at the same time, he was charged with making public policy responsive to his personal goals.³³ In addition to these often conflicting pressures, he faced increasingly considerable pressure from lower-class groups who had little representation in the government.

Los Angeles labor leaders then added fuel to the fire smoldering in Alexander's administration. Convinced that their program of social and economic reform—which included the eight-hour day for all workers, free lodgings and public work for the unemployed, a municipal labor bureau, and collective ownership of public utilities—could never be implemented under a mayor committed to middle-class social values, labor leaders abandoned their traditional tactic of economic coercion and turned to political action in the election year of 1911. By this date a number of workers had been arrested under an anti-picketing ordinance which, in turn, had brought organized labor and the Socialists into a powerful political alliance. Representatives of the Union Labor Political Club and the Socialist Party selected Job Harriman, an attorney for labor groups, as their candidate for the mayoralty. In the meantime the Republicans chose W. C. Mushet, a former city auditor, and the Good Government Organization renominated Alexander. To the surprise of both groups, the Socialist ticket received more votes than the “goo-goos” in the primary and less than 3,000 votes would have given Harriman a majority and the election.³⁴ “As it stands their [Socialist] vote was appalling,” Willard observed after the primary, “and only the hardest kind of fighting and good luck . . . will enable us to beat them off.”³⁵

Fearful that Los Angeles might come under a government modeled upon the labor administration of San Francisco, the reformers now welcomed support from those who had quarreled with them over questions involving both strategy and principle.³⁶ Reflecting the antiunion sentiments and morbid fear of socialism of its owner, Harrison Gray Otis, the Los Angeles *Times* conveniently forgot its rancor toward the progressives and pledged support for Alexander. Considerably impressed by this turnabout and urged by other newspapers to organize a “non-partisan” group, several reformers and party regulars established a Citizens Committee of One Hundred which joined forces with the Good Government group to help re-elect the mayor. In the face of this opposition the Socialist party and trade unions campaigned vigorously for Harriman, and he soon attracted support from a surprising number of lower middle-class elements. Shortly before the general election, however, two labor organizers confessed to the crime of dynamiting the *Times* building on October 1, 1910, in which twenty-one employees died, and Harriman, who had been one of their defense attorneys, lost considerable support. The Committee of One Hundred pointed out that the



When two labor organizers confessed to the bombing of the Times building in late 1910, the increasingly popular Socialist party candidates were attacked as having "little or no property responsibility." More fearful of unions and socialism than progressivism, Times-owner Harrison Gray Otis pledged support to Alexander who triumphed in the 1911 election.

Socialist ticket was "composed of candidates having little or no property responsibilities" and argued that the re-election of the mayor would insure "industrial peace, prosperity of the city, and individual freedom." On December 5, 1911, Alexander won with 85,739 votes to Harriman's 51,796, and his fellow reformers defeated their Socialist rivals by a comfortable margin.³⁷

To prominent reformers who felt that political progressivism was capable of blunting the cutting edge of lower-class radicalism, the defeat of the Socialists in Los Angeles was a vindication of the new politics. Writing to Willard shortly after the election, Theodore Roosevelt expressed the hope that "our progressive leaders would remember . . . that true progressives must stand against brutal wrongdoing on the part of labor. . . ." James T. Young, director of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania and a respected observer of urban politics, congratulated the Los Angeles reformers on the "new departure" and added that they made him "more optimistic" about municipal government.³⁸

But the campaign had somewhat undermined the legitimacy of progressivism in the city. In a letter to Edward A. Dickson, Lewis R. Works, a reform lawyer and chairman of the public utilities board, spoke to the problem: ". . . The old guard will attempt to make capital out of their recent patriotic organization for the salvation of the city. . . . We shall . . . do the best we can to handle them if any such movement should take place. . . ." ³⁹ By accepting assistance from party regulars during the campaign, the progressives had allowed the lines of battle to be drawn mainly between the Republicans and the Socialists, and, in the process,

reformism was sacrificed for expediency within the movement itself. Moreover, the Socialist party now functioned as the main channel of social and economic reform for most workers in the city. Acknowledging this state of affairs, Chester Rowell, editor of the influential *Fresno Republican* and leader of state-wide progressivism in California, warned that the socialists might eventually win in Los Angeles if successive administrations continued to be indifferent to the programs of unions and refused to "deal with the laboring people as an important civic element."⁴⁰

Recognizing this policy as a serious weakness in political progressivism, Mayor Alexander moved sharply after 1911 in the direction of a services-oriented program that acknowledged the demands of some groups for more social services and at the same time answered the plea of middle-class commercial and civic associations for more public improvements. In this context, his administration does not exactly fit either the popular "social reform" or the elitist "structural reform" types of administrations as presented by one recent student of urban progressivism.⁴¹ True, Alexander was preoccupied with considerations of efficiency and thus imposed, perhaps unconsciously, middle-class social values upon the entire community. On the other hand, his brand of social reform fell in line with the positions of other efficiency-minded mayors, including Henry T. Hunt of Cincinnati, Newton D. Baker of Cleveland and Rudolf Blankenburg of Philadelphia, who saw little inconsistency between efficient administration and liberal improvements and who evaluated available services as inadequate for growing cities.⁴² In addition to calling for programs which benefited all classes, Alexander also began stressing the need for services of special benefit to lower-class citizens, such as tenement inspection, public markets, free municipal baths, and public ownership of all public utilities.⁴³

Alexander's strong desire to alter the existing social and economic order required a deep commitment to public welfare from various city officials usually preoccupied only with those services deemed important to the middle and upper-class sectors of the city. Unfortunately, the council remained under the thumb of political reformers unsympathetic to the plight of individuals on the lower rungs of the social ladder, and they quickly repudiated portions of the Good Government platform from which the mayor had drafted his program of social services. In addition, Alexander himself began to back down on a campaign pledge involving street railway franchises when he pressured the council into confirming the reappointment of a moderate conservative, General Adna R. Chaffee, to the Board of Public Works. Overlooking the appointments of several reform-minded administrators to various commissions, George B. Anderson, secretary of the Good Government Organization, informed one prominent progressive that it was "taking the heart out of all of us to see the way 'big business' has been getting in its work with the mayor and some of the council."⁴⁴ On the other hand, Alexander, while identifying aggregations of economic power with the prosperity of the city, still felt that government should function as an impartial arbiter on particular matters involving public and private interests.

This open-minded policy invited considerable opposition to municipalization from the local utility companies. In their determination to maintain control of the city's power business, representatives of Los Angeles Gas and Electric, Pacific

THE THREE MUSKETEERS

On November 7, 1911, the labor-oriented *Record* characterized the uneasy pre-election fraternity of Big Business, the Good Government Organization, a surprised but leashed Mayor Alexander, and their newest cohort, the ousted Old Guard backed by Southern Pacific money.



Light and Power, and Southern California Edison enlisted the support of business-minded members of the council and several commercial associations in an effort to pressure the administration into allowing their firms to purchase and market the aqueduct power. To their dismay, the Board of Public Service resisted this campaign and persuaded the council to authorize a \$6.5 million bond issue for erecting distributing facilities. With these securities requiring electoral approval, the power companies vigorously campaigned against the board's bond issues to further obstruct the move to municipal ownership.⁴⁵

Concurrently, the struggle over municipalization intensified partisanship within the administrative branch of the government. In January of 1912 the *Los Angeles Record*, which reflected the views of organized labor in the city, pointed out that the appointive officials who "get their 'hunches' from big business" were "fearful that an honest and thorough investigation would . . . bring great discredit . . . on . . . those officials in charge of the aqueduct work." Favoring privately-owned, publicly-regulated monopolies under efficient management, a few commissioners in the utilities, public works and harbor departments resigned over the issue of municipal ownership, while others stayed on but resisted Alexander's effort to establish city-owned harbor facilities, power plants, and an electrical distributing system.⁴⁶ Witnessing this development the public service board assumed a different perspective in its annual report for 1911: "Any scheme for selling . . . power to the companies . . . would afford the greatest possible inducements on the part of the companies to interfere with the city's politics . . . and . . . place the power companies in a position to dictate terms to the city."⁴⁷ Few social welfare progressives could have said it better; indeed, one of their main aims was to sever the connection between powerful special interests and the

city government. But this goal did not imply a radical redistribution of economic power in the city. "The Progressive asks that government sees to it that every man gets a fair start into life and that he has justice," Editor Willard wrote in July of 1912, "as between man and man, and also as between man and property. There is nothing extreme or revolutionary about this demand, and nothing that makes for fundamental changes in our economic system."⁴⁸

Largely committed to change within established institutions, most progressives in Los Angeles sought to sensitize the government to the needs of the consumer and to force its officials to rationalize operations. In pursuing this objective a number of prominent reformers called for a new charter that would eliminate the separation of powers among the mayor, departmental heads, and the council.⁴⁹ For them, growing factionalism in the government necessitated a reorganization of the lines of control that would centralize authority in an administrative apparatus run by officials committed to the tenets of cost accounting and "scientific" administration.⁵⁰ The council, in response, appointed a committee headed by Lissner and Haynes to draft a new charter along these lines. Drawing upon the suggestions of a team of experts from the National Municipal League and of officials in cities operating under commission form of government—a form which lodged both executive and legislative functions in a group of elected officials—the committee presented a new charter to the 1912 Board of Freeholders which in turn accepted most of its recommendations. In addition to consolidating recent reforms such as civil service, nonpartisan elections, and municipal ownership, the board created a commission of eight members with each member in charge of a single department and made each responsible for the formulation and administration of public policy.⁵¹

Feeling that the document would probably strengthen progressivism in the city, party regulars greeted the proposed charter with considerable resentment and charged that it was a tactical compromise among progressives designed to "wrench the municipal reins from the people." Meanwhile, some reformers contended that Los Angeles was not suited to the commission system which was confined mostly to small cities and that it would deprive the electorate of "invaluable safeguards." Others charged that the reformed bureaucracy would be undermined by the abolition of the boards and their replacement by commissioners. In rejecting these allegations Haynes argued that the document would take all appointments "out of politics" and in the process "insure the prompt execution of all the big plans" of the city. "The charter . . . marks a great and distinct advance . . . of the kind never before drafted," other members of the board proclaimed, "and if adopted, it will give Los Angeles a position of enviable distinction among the best governed cities in the world." But the electorate remained unconvinced, and to the dismay of the Board of Freeholders, they decisively rejected the document at the charter election in December, 1912.⁵³

From the perspective of those reformers who valued organizational discipline and loyalty, the defeat of the proposed charter appeared to be the deathknell of progressivism in Los Angeles. In a letter to Willard in January, 1913, Rufus W. Burnham wrote that to "find some who fought with us early in the game have weakened and are valuing the dollar more than the man . . . causes me to get out of the front rank."⁵⁴



In 1908 Meyer Lissner (above center), Edward Dickson (above right), and Marshall Stimson (left) organized the Good Government group to wrest political power from the machine. Chester Rowell (above left), leader of state-wide progressivism, gave his support. By mid-1913, differences in philosophy had ended this promising political chapter.

OPPOSITE: Alexander urged municipal ownership of public utilities such as the Owens River aqueduct (photo of Newhall Spillway opening, 1913) against pressure from private companies and business-minded council members.

Disappointments notwithstanding, considerable progress had been made under the reform mayor since 1911. By 1913 the administration had completed the Owens River aqueduct, constructed forty-two miles of sewers, expanded the fire and police departments, paved twenty-seven miles of streets, pushed through a municipal power system, and partially renovated the harbor. It had also opened the door to tenement regulation, suppressed organized vice, and succeeded in keeping the city on a sound financial basis.⁵⁵

To the chagrin of Mayor Alexander, however, these accomplishments failed to attract more support for his government. Intensifying factionalism within the community and increasing conflict within the ranks of progressivism had together resulted in hostility among the voters toward the administration. Shortly after the defeat of the 1912 charter a number of conservative reformers met in a Citizen's Committee of 1000 to draft a set of amendments to the existing charter, while other reformers of varying persuasions, including many Socialists, formed a People's Charter Conference to propose different amendments. Each group drafted a set of proposals, and the council then submitted them all to the electorate. Particularly important was one of the conference's proposals which called for new elections in May and June, 1913, thus, in effect, recalling the administration. The electorate approved this proposal along with most of the others submitted by the conference.⁵⁶



With the pending retirement of Alexander because of advanced age, the progressives were poorly prepared for the coming campaign. For some time differences over principles and tactics had created tensions among the leaders of the movement.⁵⁷ In February, 1913, reformer John J. Hamilton urged that "it is imperative that good relations be established between the radical and progressive elements in Los Angeles. . . . There are, of course, honest conservatives; but they are inevitably tied up with the 'interests' . . . [and] are always undesirable allies for the progressives."⁵⁸ Meyer Lissner and other reform leaders, however, pursued a different strategy. Frightened by the renewed threat of socialism and feeling that the embittered newspaper rivalries "made it practically impossible to get men of the highest standing . . . to become candidates for office," Lissner, Marshall Stimson, and Russ Avery, president of the Los Angeles Voters' League, accepted an invitation by conservative reformers in March, 1913, to join forces with the regular Republicans and businessmen in a Municipal Conference. Despite the participants' nonpartisan posture and protestations that the gathering represented all reform-minded groups, social welfare reformers and labor were without representation in the conference. To offset this obvious slight, the participating progressives recommended the nomination of William Mulholland, who had conceived and built the Owens River aqueduct, for mayor. The conference rejected the engineer, however, and nominated John W. Shenk, a conservative

attorney, on a nonpartisan ticket along with a slate of business-minded councilmen.⁵⁹

In the heat of resentment over not being consulted before the formation of the Municipal Conference, Edwin T. Earl, owner of the *Los Angeles Express*, quickly broke relations with the progressives most responsible for cementing the coalition. "As far as I am able to judge," Marshall Stimson admitted, "... our action will be judged by the majority of the Progressives according to the result of the conference, and the general theory is that we were not accorded fair treatment."⁶⁰ Charging Stimson, Lissner, and Avery with an attempt to deliver the government into the hands of the "money power and corporate interests," Earl organized the excluded social progressives into a People's Campaign Committee which grudgingly endorsed Shenk but chose a separate slate of candidates for the council. In supporting the committee's ticket, the *Los Angeles Express* contended that there was no commitment in the platform of the Municipal Conference to rapid extension of public utilities and pointed out that some of the councilmen on the nonpartisan ticket were from the wealthier part of the city which had defeated in April, 1913, the \$6.5 million bond issue for the development of public power. Meanwhile, Lissner instructed members of the conference to campaign vigorously for the nonpartisanship ticket because "these candidates stand for immediate development of ... public utilities ... on a sound business basis" and would "represent all sections of the city faithfully and well."⁶¹

To the relief of the Municipal Conference, Shenk received a plurality of votes in the primary, while an independent, Harry Rose, defeated the Socialist candidate, Job Harriman, for second spot. With the removal of the Socialist threat, however, a large number of party regulars and businessmen quickly deserted the conference. In the runoff Rose, who maligned Shenk as a stooge of the progressives, secured the regulars and businessmen's votes and carried enough of Harriman's supporters to win by a startling upset of 46,045 votes to Shenk's 38,109. Of the eleven councilmen-elect, four were affiliated with the conference, one was a Socialist, and another was an independent. For Los Angeles it appeared to be the end of its progressive political chapter.⁶²

In attempting to explain their sudden loss of formal power some progressives pointed out that Rose had received considerable support from the utility corporations, while others, such as Lissner, contended that Shenk had lost because of "prejudice against Earl, particularly, and against the long-hairs, generally..."⁶³ But the problem went much deeper than these explanations. Divergent views of public welfare and lack of organizational discipline had together resulted in the inability of the progressives to maintain an organization that could compete on equal terms with other political groups in the city. Moreover, their preoccupation with structural change failed to win them a popular following. "The trouble with all movements," Edward A. Dickson wrote, "... is that leaders are developed who plunge to excess in governmental affairs. Efficient, economic ... government does not satisfy a large proportion of our people, and the demand goes up for ultra-radical legislation."⁶⁴ Reluctant to deal effectively with basic social and economic conditions that pressed upon the city's growing lower-class population, the structural reformers had directed the force of progressivism to abolishing governmental inefficiency, which they saw as the underlying cause of most urban problems.

Nevertheless, in bringing more positive and service-oriented government to Los Angeles, Mayor Alexander and his dedicated officials left succeeding administrations better prepared to cope with the social injustices and economic oppression which accompanied the emergence of the metropolis. To be sure, progressive reform would remain essentially an effort to inject more efficiency and economy into the administrative tissues of the government. In a survey of the Los Angeles city government in 1913 the New York Bureau of Municipal Research pointed out that weaknesses in administrative control resulted mainly from a decentralized accounting system, the lack of efficiency records within several departments, and the "lack of coordination between the salaries paid and the services rendered."⁶⁵ On the other hand, the growth of executive power and increased administrative responsibility invited more pressure on officials because they permitted various interest groups to discern with more accuracy what was going on in the government. Furthermore, progressivism, while it did not eliminate partisanship, destroyed the traditional functions of the machine in electoral politics and compelled candidates for public office to appeal to the entire community. In this context reform politicians and efficiency-minded officials, sharing common background and common expectations, could move closer together in an effort to extend governmental responsibilities into a wider range of direct services to the people. The period from 1909 to 1913, therefore, was less the fruition of progressivism than a crucial transition period in the city's politics and reform polity. Awareness of this political watershed in the development of Los Angeles should induce historians of American urban politics, long limited by their preoccupation with the alleged demise of progressive political reform, to devote more attention to a similar trend in the evolution of public services in other large cities during the early twentieth century.

THE PHOTOS on pages 38 (top and left) and 42 are courtesy Security Pacific National Bank, Los Angeles; photos on pages 38 (below) and 50, courtesy University Research Library, UCLA; and photos on pages 46 and 51, courtesy Title Insurance and Trust Co., Los Angeles.

NOTES

1. J. Joseph Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 44:321-44 (September 1962); Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 55:157-69 (October 1964); Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*, pp. 111-32, 166-76, 208-14 (New York 1967).
2. Richard Skolnick, "Civic Group Progressivism in New York City," *New York History*, 51:411-39 (July 1970); Philip S. Benjamin, "Gentlemen Reformers in the Quaker City, 1870-1912," *Political Science Quarterly*, 85:67-79 (March 1970); Melvin G. Holli, *Reform in Detroit: Hazen S. Pingree and Urban Politics* (New York, 1969); James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1895-1911* (Baton Rouge, 1968); Jack Tager, *The Intellectual as Urban Reformer: Brand Whitlock and the Progressive Movement* (Cleveland, 1968); Zane L. Miller, *Boss Cox's Cincinnati: Urban Politics in the Progressive Era* (New York, 1968); Warren B. Johnson, "Muckraking in the Northwest: Joe Smith and Seattle Reform," *Pacific Historical Review*, 40:478-500 (November 1971); James P. Walsh, "Abe Ruef Was No Boss: Machine Politics, Reform, and San Francisco," *California Historical Quarterly*, 51:3-16 (Spring 1972).
3. Some aspects of reform in Los Angeles in this period are discussed in George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives*, pp. 38-47, 50-55 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), and in Robert M.

Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930*, pp. 210-18, 229-37 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), while Albert H. Clodius, "The Quest for Good Government in Los Angeles, 1890-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1953), provides insights into the general nature of Los Angeles progressivism and valuable information on political and social reform in these years.

4. Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*, 207.
5. Martin J. Schiesl, "The Politics of Efficiency: Municipal Reform in the Progressive Era, 1880-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1972), pp. 70-100.
6. Marshall Stimson, "Fun, Fights and Fiestas in Old Los Angeles: An Autobiography," Marshall Stimson Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, pp. 149-50, 160-61, 184; Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*, 208.
7. "The Memoirs of William Jarvis Carr" (oral history interview conducted by Doyce B. Nunis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1959), pp. 41, 45.
8. John R. Haynes to Thomas H. Reed, June 20, 1911, John Randolph Haynes Papers, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles; *Charter of the City of Los Angeles 1889-1913*, pp. 134-52.
9. *Fifteenth Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission July 1, 1897-June 30, 1898*, pp. 492-500; *Charter of . . . Los Angeles 1889-1913*, pp. 184-95.
10. Charles D. Willard, "Municipal Progress in Los Angeles," *Proceedings of the New York Conference for Good City Government and 11th Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League, April 1905*, p. 102.
11. A. S. Petterson, "Los Angeles Municipal Election of 1906. Non-Partisan Movement to Smash S P [Southern Pacific] Control of Key City Achieves Remarkable Victory," ca. 1906, box 17, Edward A. Dickson Papers, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, pp. 1-3; Meyer Lissner to Kendrick C. Babcock, February 19, 1908, box 1, Meyer Lissner Papers, Borel Collection, Manuscripts Department, Stanford University Libraries.
12. Los Angeles *Herald*, January 25, 1909; Los Angeles *Times*, February 11, 1909; *Charter of . . . Los Angeles 1889-1913*, pp. 157-67.
13. Lissner to Francis J. Heney, February 2, 1909, box 2 Lissner Papers; "Petition for the Recall of Mayor Harper," (1909), Haynes Papers; Clodius, "Quest for Good Government," 186-187, 190-92, 194.
14. Los Angeles *Express*, March 12, 25, 27, 1909; Clodius, "Quest for Good Government," 209-10.
15. Tager, *Brand Whitlock*, 106-26; William Bayard Hale, "Gaynor: Mayor of New York," *World's Work*, 20:13139-13152 (July, 1910).
16. George Alexander, "What I Am Going to Do," *Pacific Outlook*, 6:7 (April 3, 1909).
17. Los Angeles *Examiner*, March 30, April 1, 23, 1909; Los Angeles *Express*, April 4, 23, 1909.
18. Theodore J. Lowi, *At the Pleasure of the Mayor: Patronage and Power in New York City, 1898-1958*, pp. 61-66 (New York, 1964).
19. Los Angeles *Times*, April 5, 6, 1909; Los Angeles *Examiner*, April 6, 1909.
20. Meyer Lissner, "Reform in Los Angeles. Retrospective-Pro prospective," an address delivered before the City Club of Los Angeles, April 10, 1909, reprinted in Los Angeles *Herald*, April 11, 1909.
21. On this interrelationship of patronage and the fiscal structure of party organization, see C. K. Yearley, *The Money Machines: The Breakdown and Reform of Governmental and Party Finance in the North, 1860-1920*, pp. 97-118, 253-69 (New York, 1970).
22. Alexander, "Going to Do," 3; Los Angeles *Times*, April 28, May 19, 1909; Clodius, "Quest for Good Government," 243-69.
23. Los Angeles *Herald*, November 7, 1909; "Declaration of Principles: Platform Adopted by the Good Government Organization," *Pacific Outlook*, 7:9 (November 27, 1909); Los Angeles *Examiner*, December 7, 1909.
24. Los Angeles *Examiner*, December 9, 1909; Lissner to Robert LaFollette, December 15, 1909, box 2, Lissner Papers.
25. "Expressions of Prominent Citizens on the Election Results," *Pacific Outlook*, 7:4 (December 11, 1909). In pressing for efficient city government Lissner, unlike most of his politically oriented colleagues, gave some evidence of having a broader concept of reform that acknowledged

the claims of lower-class groups upon the community. See Meyer Lissner, "Honesty Plus Efficiency," an address delivered before the National Municipal League, July 9, 1912, reprinted in *California Outlook*, 12:10 (July 20, 1912).

26. "Expressions of Prominent Citizens," 5.

27. Clodius, "Quest for Good Government," 495-96, 511; R. W. Burnham, "The Business Fetish—A Sunset Club Paper," *Pacific Outlook*, 6:7 (June 19, 1909).

28. [Charles D. Willard], "How the City Poisons Itself," *Pacific Outlook*, 7:1 (July 10, 1909); "The Man in the Gutter," *Pacific Outlook*, 7:1 (July 17, 1909); and "The New Basis of Hope," *Pacific Outlook*, 7:1-2 (July 24, 1909).

29. "Six Months of Good Government Administration," *Pacific Outlook*, 8:2-3 (June 25, 1910); "Mayor Alexander's Annual Message on the Condition of Municipal Affairs," *Los Angeles Herald*, February 1, 1911.

30. Quoted in *Pacific Outlook*, 6:7 (June 26, 1909); *First Annual Report of the Board of Public Utilities of the City of Los Angeles*, June 30, 1910, pp. 1, 6-8, 44-49, 58-67.

31. *Los Angeles Examiner*, June 8, 9, 10, 1910; *Second Annual Report of the Board of Public Utilities of the City of Los Angeles*, July 1, 1911, pp. 17-22, 87-88, 115-118; Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*, 233.

32. M. Lissner, N. D. Darlington and J. M. Hunter to George Alexander, June 30, 1911, and Lissner to Dickson, July 17, 1911, both in box 3, Lissner Papers. Shortly after a new appointee to the board expressed similar sentiments: "The Board is nothing but a Court which is charged with the laborious duty of standing between the people and the big corporations and endeavoring to do, if possible, exact justice to each and therein lies the problem." Lewis R. Works to T. Perceval Gerson, July 10, 1911, box 1. Theodore Perceval Gerson Papers, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

33. At this time three officials in the police department had been arrested on charges of having extorted protection fees from gambling establishments and houses of prostitution, while other departments were being investigated by the district attorney for alleged corruption. *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 15, 1911; *Los Angeles Examiner*, June 15, 17, 21, 1911.

34. Grace H. Stimson, *Rise of Labor Movement in Los Angeles*, 324-25, 343-47, 351-53, 361-64 (Berkeley, 1955); *Los Angeles Examiner*, October 10, 30, November 1, 1911.

35. C. D. Willard to Sarah W. Hiestand, November 2, 1911, box 6, Charles Dwight Willard Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. See also B. W. Bartels to Lissner, November 11, 1911, box 13, Lissner Papers.

36. For political developments in San Francisco during this period, see Alexander Saxton, "San Francisco Labor and the Populist and Progressive Insurgencies," *Pacific Historical Review*, 34:430-35 (November, 1965); Walsh, "Abe Ruef Was No Boss," 12-13.

37. Stimson, *Labor Movement in Los Angeles*, 348-49, 400-406; *Los Angeles Examiner*, November 7, 16, 19, December 5, 6, 1911. Recalling the support for the Good Government candidates in this campaign, Marshall Stimson noted that "it was very interesting . . . to witness the zeal which the pocketbook class put into the campaign. They were thoroughly frightened and poured out money and volunteered for precinct work in large numbers." Stimson, "Fun, Fights and Fiestas," 215.

38. Theodore Roosevelt to Charles D. Willard, December 11, 1911, box 7, Willard Papers; James T. Young to T. Perceval Gerson, January 29, 1912, box 1, Gerson Papers.

39. Lewis R. Works to E. A. Dickson, January 4, 1912, box 2, Dickson Papers.

40. Chester Rowell, "The Los Angeles Situation," reprinted from *Fresno Republican in California Outlook*, 9:8 (November 25, 1911).

41. Holli, *Reform in Detroit*, 161-71.

42. Miller, *Boss Cox's Cincinnati*, 213-25; E. C. Hopwood, "Newton D. Baker's Administration as Mayor of Cleveland and its Accomplishments," *National Municipal Review* 2:461-66 (1913); Charles Francis Jenkins, "The Blankenburg Administration in Philadelphia: A Symposium," *National Municipal Review* 5:211-25 (April 1916).

43. *Los Angeles Express*, January 1, 1912; Clodius, "Quest for Good Government," 483.

44. *Los Angeles Record*, January 2, 1912; George B. Anderson to Franklin Hichborn, January 2, 1913, Franklin Hichborn Papers, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

45. Los Angeles *Examiner*, January 5, April 11, June 24, 1912; Los Angeles *Record*, July 12, December 28, 1912.
46. Los Angeles *Record*, January 23, 1912; Los Angeles *Examiner*, June 9, 24, July 12, 1912.
47. *Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Public Service Commissioners of the City of Los Angeles, California, June 30, 1912*, p. 6.
48. Charles D. Willard, "The Political Millennium: Number Twenty of the Series Addressed to New Voters in California," *California Outlook*, 13:7 (July 27, 1912).
49. In March, 1911, the electorate had approved a number of charter amendments which, among other things, defined the powers of various boards and commissions, established centralized purchasing, gave the mayor more control over fire and police activities, and lodged budgetary responsibility in the council with an executive veto. *Charter of . . . Los Angeles 1889-1913*, pp. 1-41, 44, 48, 50, 52, 54, 57, 62-73, 75-88, 91-133, 167-81, 183, 190, 192-93, 204-209.
50. John J. Hamilton, "Dividing and Delegating Authority," *California Outlook*, 12:10-11 (May 18, 1912); Charles D. Willard, "Los Angeles Acts Up," *California Outlook*, 13:3-4 (July 6, 1912).
51. Meyer Lissner et al., "Joint Report of the Committees on Ways and Means and Rules, and Program of the Los Angeles Charter Commission," March 20, 1912, Haynes Papers; *Second Draft of the Charter of the City of Los Angeles* (1912), pp. 5-6, *passim*.
52. C. S. Lamb, C. T. Herbert, Everett R. Perry to Board of Freeholders, June 3, 1912, and J. B. Irvine to Haynes, June 4, 1912, both in Haynes Papers; Los Angeles *Examiner*, December 2, 1912.
53. John R. Haynes, "The New City Charter as a Business Proposition" (ca. 1912), pp. 2-3, Haynes Papers; Board of Freeholders, "Statement to the People of Los Angeles" (1912), p. 2, Haynes Papers; Los Angeles *Examiner*, December 4, 1912.
54. Rufus W. Burnham to Charles D. Willard, January 5, 1913, box 8, Willard Papers.
55. Los Angeles *Examiner*, January 8, 1913; Meyer Lissner, "What's the Matter with Los Angeles?", *California Outlook*, 14:16 (January 11, 1913); John Ihlder, "Housing at the Los Angeles Conference," *National Municipal Review*, 2:69-71 (January 1913).
56. Los Angeles *Examiner*, December 19, 1912, March 10, 26, 1913; *Charter of . . . Los Angeles 1889-1913*, pp. 13, 16-28, 31-33, 59-61, 104, 119, 133-34, 157, 171-72, 203.
57. See Lissner to E. T. Earl and H. W. Brundige, July 26, 1912, box 5, Lissner Papers; John J. Hamilton to Lissner September 27, 1912, box 17, Lissner Papers; T. P. Kelso to Lissner, December 5, 1912, box 19, Lissner Papers.
58. John J. Hamilton to Lissner, February 3, 1913, box 17, Lissner Papers.
59. Lissner et al. to Earl, March 29, 1913, box 5, *ibid.*; Marshall Stimson et al., "Why We Went into the 'Municipal Conference of 1913'," *California Outlook*, 14:5 (April 5, 1913).
60. Marshall Stimson to E. A. Dickson, March 31, 1913, box 2, Dickson Papers.
61. Los Angeles *Express*, March 29, April 23, 26, 1913; Lissner to Members of the Municipal Conference, May 1, 1913, box 21, Lissner Papers. Years later Marshall Stimson was somewhat sympathetic to Earl's strategy: "He [E. T. Earl] felt that a compromise was being made with forces that were inimical to the city's best interests. I think he was mistaken, but the matter is open to argument." Stimson, "Fun, Fights and Fiestas," 216.
62. "The Primary Election in Los Angeles," *California Outlook*, 14:10 (May 10, 1913); Los Angeles *Examiner*, May 28, June 2, 4, 1913; Los Angeles *Record*, June 4, 1913.
63. Los Angeles *Tribune*, June 4, 1913; Los Angeles *Times*, June 5, 1913; Lissner to William Allen White, June 9, 1913, box 6, Lissner Papers.
64. E. A. Dickson to Guy C. Earl, December 24, 1913, box 9, Dickson Papers. Curiously, some progressives in Los Angeles, particularly Meyer Lissner, were involved with the extensive program of social welfare legislation enacted by Governor Hiram Johnson from 1911 to 1916. See Spencer C. Olin, Jr., *California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and Progressives, 1911-1917*, pp. 34-55, 70-91 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969).
65. "A Survey of Los Angeles City Government," *California Outlook*, 14:10, 18 (April 26, 1913). In later years important procedural innovations such as an efficiency commission, standardized salaries, and an executive budget were adopted. See Efficiency Commission, *The City Government of Los Angeles*, 1-3 (Los Angeles, 1914); William C. Beyer, "Standardization of Salaries in American Cities," *National Municipal Review*, 5:269, 271 (April 1916; Municipal League of Los Angeles, *Bulletin, Light on Your City's Affair*, 2:8-9 (June 1925).

Charles Fey and San Francisco's Liberty Bell Slot Machine

MARSHALL A. FEY

Grandson of the inventor of the three-reel slot machine

COIN-OPERATED GAMBLING DEVICES first appeared in San Francisco in the early 1890's. Soon thereafter, an alarmist article in the *Daily News*—headlined “Fifteen Hundred Swindling Machines in One City”—bemoaned the “mushroom growth” in past months of the “nickle in the slot lotteries,” as coin-operated gambling devices were called, and noted approvingly that one C. R. Bennett, the secretary of the Society for the Prevention of Vice, was about to lay a formal complaint against them before the chief of police.¹

Any efforts that may have been made to control the proliferation of the gaming machines in San Francisco's many saloons proved futile, for in 1895 Bavarian-born mechanic Charles Fey invented an ingenious three-reel gambling device that proved irresistibly popular and rapidly became the backbone of the entire gambling-machine industry. Fey dubbed his machine the “Liberty Bell” in honor of the United States' famous symbol of freedom,² and from this name the generic term “bell slot machine” evolved. This designation is common trade parlance for the popular three-reel slot machines found in most American casinos today.

Fey placed his first Liberty Bell machine in a San Francisco saloon, possibly along the Embarcadero, to test its worth. Its instant popularity sent him back to his cellar shop where, after forsaking his mechanic job, he constructed more of the machines by hand and soon had the machines in every waterfront saloon and gathering place. Ship's crews from Alaska, South America, Australia, and the Orient reportedly began playing the machines to the exclusion of similar entertainment machines.³

As the lucrative business continued to expand, Fey found he could no longer operate out of his home workshop; he needed larger quarters. In 1897 he set up his first shop on the third floor of an ornate building at 406 Market Street, where he remained until 1906.⁴ Fey proudly referred to his headquarters as “the best equipped shop west of the Mississippi.” His staff handled the manufacturing and servicing of the machines, while Fey happily resumed tinkering, designing, remodeling, and improving his own machines and those of other manufacturers. As more and more saloons, gaming establishments, and brothels demanded the slots, Charles Fey & Co. extended its operations as far south as San Jose, across San Francisco Bay, and to cities in central California.⁵

Fey refused to patent his machine. He also refused to sell or lease his machines; instead he operated and serviced them on a percentage basis. For a number of



Charles August Fey, a mechanic by trade, invented the compact and lucrative Liberty Bell slot machine in 1885. The machine shown above was rescued from the Fey workshop during the 1906 fire.



CHARLES FEY

OPPOSITE: Until Fey's invention, the cumbersome Mills Dewey machine was the most popular in the trade.

years the San Francisco area maintained a monopoly on the three-reel slot machine, but the fame of the mechanical marvel spread rapidly across the country. Then, one day in 1905, catastrophe struck Fey's exclusive operation: one of the Liberty Bell slots disappeared from a Powell Street saloon.⁶

As Fey had most feared, the machine came into a competitor's hands and surfaced at the Chicago factory of the Mills Novelty Company.⁷ At the time Herbert Mills was successfully manufacturing the very popular Dewey slot machine, named for the hero of the Spanish American War, but rumors of the amazingly popular Liberty Bell titillated Mills' entrepreneurial imagination. Mills had earlier tried to buy one of the machines, but Fey refused to sell. Mills had then attempted to lease one, but Fey would not let a single machine out of his domain. Then Mills offered to handle the eastern states on a percentage basis, but Fey was not interested.⁸

The moment the coveted machine arrived at Mills' factory, Mills called in his best mechanic, and they took it apart. A small wooden box about a foot square contained the gambling apparatus. Mills marveled at the device's compact size—his Dewey-model machine filled a massive, free-standing cabinet. To work the machine, he observed, the player would insert a nickel into a horizontal slot and

THE MILLS DEWEY Jack Pot

SIX SLOTS

For nickels or quarters
With or without music

Our old reliable Dewey, with all the well-known Dewey features—and a JACK POT feature added.

Jack Pot is in full sight of the players.

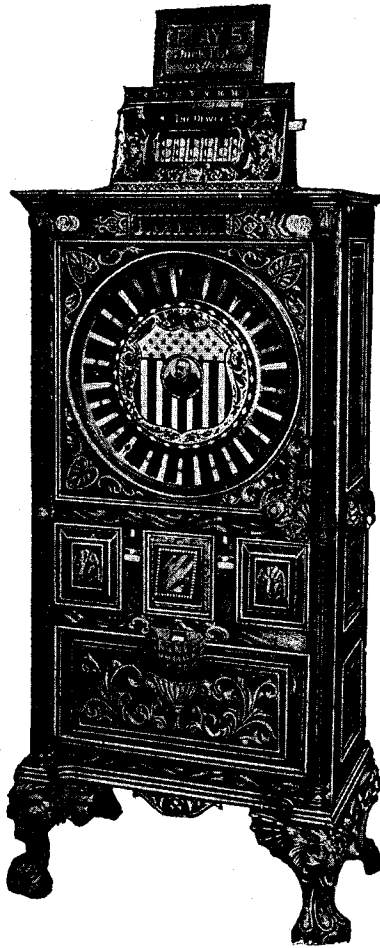
Jack Pot constantly accumulates, until it looks to the player like a whole hatful of nickels.

Jack Pot gets the play where there would be "nothing doing" with an ordinary machine.

Jack Pot takes the place of the \$2 reward.

Other rewards are the same as the regular Dewey.

Has Mills Slug Detector and Mills Anti-clogging Device, the same as the regular Dewey.



Dimensions, 69x36x23 inches
Gross weight, 340 4 pounds

press a small triangular lever with his thumb. Inscribed on three wheels of fortune were several repeated symbols. With ten symbols per wheel, possible combinations numbered ten times ten times ten, or one thousand combinations. Since there was only one special symbol on each wheel, the odds of winning the grand prize were 999 to 1. Mills' Dewey slot machine with its single disc had but one hundred combinations. Fey's machine, Mills deduced after feeding it a stack of nickels, gave the house twice the profit of any machine put out by Mills, yet the public was much more eager to play Fey's machine. Why?, wondered Mills.⁹

Then it occurred to him. On all his coin games, the percentage in favor of the house could easily be calculated by an intelligent player because all the symbols were in full view and the possible combinations were easily ascertained. On the Liberty Bell machine, only three symbols were exposed in the window at one time, making it impossible for a player to judge the generosity of the machine.

RING OUT THE OLD
Machines, and get a Liberty Bell--It is the

Most Marvelous

Card Machine ever manufactured

Four machines in one—FIRST, can be operated with a 5c coin or check, and will pay rewards automatically in five cent checks.

SECOND, can be operated with five cent coins exclusively, and will pay rewards automatically in five cent coins exclusively.

THIRD, can be operated with 5c checks exclusively, and will pay its rewards automatically in 5c checks exclusively.

FOURTH, can be operated as a plain trade card machine by simply closing up the pay-out tube.



Size, 22x13x12 inches
Shipping weight, 118 pounds

THE LIBERTY BELL

These Tests Tell the Story

"I have six Liberty Bells going. They bring me \$167.50 a week."

J. B. Keeney, Huron, S. D.
"Liberty Bells work O. K. Send me two more by express."

Oshkosh Novelty Co.,
Oshkosh, Wis.
"The Liberty Bell is all you claim for it. Ship another at once."

Hutson Bros.,
Welch, W. Va.
"The Liberty Bell runs like a clock. It has taken off as much money in 15 days as our old one did in three months."

Russell & Heinlein,
East Grand Forks, Minn.

RING IN THE NEW
Hundreds of men have found Liberty Bell a big

MoneyMaker

and you will find it so too, if you give it a trial

CAN BE ADJUSTED to meet all requirements in your town. You can change it at will from one style of machine to another. In the twinkling of an eye it becomes a Trade Stimulator, a Money Machine or a Check Machine.

THE CONSTRUCTION is the same as all MILLS Machines. Every part is durable and carefully made and the finished machine is an ornament to any counter.

Dimensions, 22x13x12 inches
Gross weight, 118 pounds

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|
| KING KING KING or KING KING | Wins \$1.00 In Trade |
| QUEEN QUEEN QUEEN or QUEEN QUEEN | Wins 80 c In Trade |
| JACK JACK JACK or JACK JACK | Wins 60 c In Trade |
| 10 10 10 or 10 10 | Wins 40 c In Trade |
| 9 9 9 or 9 9 | Wins 20 c In Trade |
| 8 8 8 or 8 8 | Wins 10 c In Trade |

* B. Rewards are only paid when such or equal or better is dealt. Question as printed on reward cards. * Rewards questions of same do not pay anything.

MILLS NOVELTY CO. CHICAGO, U. S. A.

After stealing one of Fey's machines, Mills successfully marketed his own version.

While the house's take was 40 per cent of the play, no outsider could determine this without disassembling a machine.¹⁰ As well, Mills discovered, the Fey machine was fast—it took only five to ten seconds to lose a nickel. Aware that he himself unconsciously held his breath while the three wheels turned, he understood its intrinsic excitement—it had drama.

It was not long before Mills began to mass produce Bell slot machines, which he named Mills Liberty Bell slots. While the machine's case differed from Fey's, the name and basic mechanism were the same. (The identical mechanism is used in mechanical machines today.)¹¹ Before long, Mills became the largest manufacturer of Bell slot machines in the world, a position he maintained for over fifty years.¹² Following Mills, two other pioneers of the coin machine industry who had also manufactured Dewey-type slots began producing their own Bell slots, complete with cases almost identical to the Fey Liberty Bell. The Caille Liberty Bell was manufactured in Detroit by the Caille Brothers Manufacturing Company and the Watling Liberty Bell in Chicago by the Watling Manufacturing Company.¹³ The Liberty Bell slot had spread from a cellar workshop in San Francisco to the eastern United States and was on its way throughout the world.

Back in 1906, however, Fey was only slightly troubled by his new competition in the East, for business was good, and Fey had just moved his family into a new house in San Francisco's Western Addition. Then, early on the morning of April 18, the family was awakened by the violent shakes of a tremendous earth-

quake. Quickly ascertaining that the only apparent damage to his Broderick Street residence was a crack in the front retaining wall (still visible today), Fey made his family safe and rushed downtown to his shop. Arriving at the 400 block of Market Street, he found bricks strewn about the area. A corner of the wall of his shop and large sections from the neighboring buildings at 404 and 414 Market had collapsed during the quake. A section of the fourth-floor wall of the adjoining building at 404 Market crashed through his roof, scattering bricks throughout the shop.¹⁴

But following the quake came devastating fires. Within four blocks of Fey's shop, five major uncontrolled fires broke out. Later in the day all hope of saving this section of Market Street was abandoned. Charles Fey hastened to a nearby livery stable for his horse and buggy and quickly returned to his doomed shop to salvage what he could. Fortunately he saved his most prized possession, the original Liberty Bell machine, and a few lesser valuables.¹⁵

After the fire Fey returned to find the handsome edifice that once housed his shop in a complete state of ruin. The interior of the building had been completely gutted by the fire, and all that was salvagable was a mass of molten nickels found in the cash can of a slot machine buried in rubble on the ground floor. He mounted this plug of melted nickels on a casting and treasured it afterwards as a memento of the holocaust.¹⁶

The earthquake and fire of 1906 not only destroyed Fey's Market Street shop,

During the earthquake a section of the fourth-floor wall at 404 Market (left foreground) crashed through the roof of Fey's adjacent third-floor shop at 406 Market, leaving only the fourth-floor facade standing at 404 Market.



but the downtown businesses, and the machines housed in those businesses, which constituted the bulk of Fey's slot machine enterprise. As such it marked the end of an era. While Fey went on to produce other types of coin-operated machines, the inventor-mechanic and, consequently, the City of San Francisco, would never again be one of the major manufacturers of the three-reel Bell slot machine.

THE PHOTOS on pages 58 and 62 (right) are in the author's collection; those on pages 59 and 60 are from the *Mills Novelty Catalog*, c. 1909; and the earthquake scenes on pages 61 and 62 are from the California Historical Society Collection.

NOTES

1. *San Francisco Chronicle*, "A Nest of Lotteries," July 10, 1893; "In the Slot Lotteries," *San Francisco Daily News*, August 29, 1893.
2. Fey has been credited as the inventor of the three-reel Bell slot machine in many books and periodicals, including *Spinning Reels* (publication of the Mills Novelty Co., Chicago), January, 1929; "Charlie Fey's Own Story," *Coin Machine Review*, January, 1937; "The Slot Machine King," *American Mercury*, September, 1940, p. 100; *San Francisco Examiner*, September 4, 1940, p. 11, September 15, 1948, p. 23, June 12, 1955, p. 7; "Mechanical Larceny," *True Magazine*, April, 1948, p. 39; "Slot Machine," *World Book Encyclopedia*, vol. 17 (1971).
3. *Coin Machine Review*, January, 1937.
4. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1897-1906.
5. *Coin Machine Review*, January, 1937.
6. Interview with Edmund C. Fey, son of Charles Fey.
7. *American Mercury*, September, 1940, p. 103; *True Magazine*, April, 1948, p. 39.
8. *True Magazine*, April, 1948, p. 39.
9. *True Magazine*, April, 1948, p. 106.
10. *True Magazine*, April, 1948, p. 106.
11. *Mills Novelty Catalog*, c. 1910.
12. Interview with Jesse J. McNeil, general manager of T. J. M. Corporation, Reno, Nevada, current manufacturers of Mills slot machines.
13. *Billboard Magazine*, February 18, 1911. "Pioneers on Parade," *Coin Machine Journal*, July, 1949, lists the four pioneers of the coin machine industry as Charles Fey, Herbert Mills, Thomas Watling, and Adolph Caille. It also credits Fey as the inventor of the three-reel Bell slot.
14. *Coin Machine Review*, January, 1937.
15. William Bronson, *The Earth Shook, The Sky Burned* (Garden City, New York: 1959), inside cover map; interview with Edmund C. Fey. The original Liberty Bell machine is on display in the Liberty Belle Saloon and Restaurant in Reno, Nevada.
16. *Coin Machine Review*, January, 1937.
17. The San Francisco chapter of E Clampus Vitus plans to erect a plaque commemorating Charles Fey's invention at the site of his pre-earthquake workshop. The plaque will be placed on the Zellerbach Building at Market Street above Sansome Street.



This photo may show Fey rescuing the original slot machine from his shop before the fire devastated it. Nickels melted together in the slot's cash can.



California's *Caminito Real*

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THE VASTNESS OF THE AREA of Alta California under ecclesial supervision in Hispanic times, possibly as much as one-sixth of the total territory,¹ necessitated the erection of facilities at *presidios* and in outlying regions for neophytes unable to satisfy their religious obligations at one or another of the formally-established missions.² While very little in the way of evidence can be gleaned from the annals about these peripheral foundations, it would seem that the gathering of the scant available documentation into a single essay can be justified by the Scriptural exhortation, repeated so frequently in the writings of Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, "*collegite quæ superaverunt fragments, ne pereant.*"³ The data here assembled on the chapels or *capillas* that dotted the skyline of pre-1850 California relates exclusively to non-mission or extra-mission foundations.⁴

I. QUASI-MISSIONS

Missionary establishments along the Colorado River, staffed by friars from the Apostolic College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, were not patterned after the plan used so successfully in the coastal foundations.⁵ Local friars, for example, exercised no control over temporalities, and natives were not required to live in regular mission communities. The arrangement proved to be "a criminally stupid blunder,"⁶ in the opinion of one chronicler. Another authority characterized the plan as calling for "neither a *presidio*, a mission, nor a *pueblo*, each of which was intelligible to a Spaniard, but a mongrel affair nobody could manage, combining features of all three such establishments."⁷ Two such "mongrel" foundations operated in Alta California.

Named to honor Purísima Concepción de Maria Santísima, the first was situated on the California side of the Colorado River at present-day Fort Yuma. It was founded on December 8, 1780. San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer, the second *pueblo*, was located at another of the Yuma *rancherías* downstream.⁸

Presumably, chapels were built at both sites, and the missionaries attempted to coax the natives from their villages for liturgical services on Sundays and major feastdays. Even though the friars found the experimental system wholly inadequate, one optimistically reported in January of 1781 that "the conversion of the Yumas is progressing quite well at the present time. . . ."⁹

Whatever may have been the physical state of the *capillas* at the two establishments, both were destroyed in July of 1781 when the Yuma Indians rebelled and

massacred soldiers, settlers, and four of the resident friars. By way of footnote, Hubert Howe Bancroft observed that the Yumas were not subdued, peace was not made, and the rebel chiefs were not captured: "The nation remained independent of all Spanish control, and was always more or less hostile. Neither *presidio*, mission, nor *pueblo* was ever again established on the Colorado; and communication by this route never ceased to be attended with danger."¹⁰

II. ASISTENCIAS

Several assistant missions or *asistencias* were set up as branches or extensions of fully-established and flourishing foundations. By definition, an *asistencia* was "a Mission on a small scale with all the requisites for a Mission, and with Divine Service held regularly on days of obligation, except that it lacked a resident priest."¹¹ Of the five *asistencias* functioning in Provincial California, only one, that of San Rafael,¹² ever achieved full mission status.

ASISTENCIA SANTA MARGARITA DE CORTONA

There is reason to believe that the Asistencia Santa Margarita de Cortona may have been established as early as 1787. Certainly it was in use three years later when a pensioned corporal, known only as Cayuelas, "asked in the name of his wife for lands at Santa Margarita belonging to that mission."¹³ His request was opposed, probably with success, on the grounds that the acreage was needed for community purposes.

A large concentration of Indians in the area accounted for the foundation. The generous water supply of the Santa Margarita River, alluded to by Juan Bautista de Anza in 1776,¹⁴ contrasted sharply with the rareness of that commodity at nearby Mission San Luis Obispo. As one historian has noted, "the friars would not have been slow in recognizing the advantage to their grain crops and also to their herds from the *ranchos*' better-watered fields with their luxuriant growth of alfilerilla and burr clover."¹⁵ The "broad, rich pastures" described by J. Ross Browne¹⁶ gave Santa Margarita an added importance in the years between 1811 and 1820, when the number of supply ships from Mexico was severely curtailed. Because of its rugged approach trails, Santa Margarita afforded an ideal asylum for natives when the coastal area was harassed by such invaders as Hipólite Bouchard, as is evident in an inventory of Mission San Luis Obispo for 1822, which describes the *asistencia* "as an inland retreat in case of attack by the sea."¹⁷

According to Alfred Robinson, the buildings of Santa Margarita in 1829 contained store-rooms for different kinds of grain and apartments for the accommodation of the *mayordomo*, servants, and wayfarers. At one end was a chapel and lodgings for the priest, who frequently spent several weeks at the place during the time of harvest. "The holy friars of the two missions," said Robinson, "occasionally met there to acknowledge to each other their sins."¹⁸

By the time of Joaquín Estrada's petition for a property grant at Santa Margarita on April 7, 1841, there were 17,734 acres attached to the ranch, much of it along the rich bottom of the Salinas River. According to Estrada, the house on the land was "in ruins and ready to fall down." He promised "not to make use of it nor to hinder said mission from using it as it may see fit."¹⁹ On September 17, 1841, acting Governor Manuel Casarín Jimeno granted Estrada's request, and

thirteen years later the claim was upheld by the United States Land Commission.

When Martin Murphy of Santa Clara purchased the *rancho* in 1861 for \$45,000, the *asistencia* of Santa Margarita was completely in ruins.²⁰ During Murphy's long tenure and that of his son, a number of "old Spanish customs, barbecues and rodeos" were revived.²¹ Soon after the Southern Pacific Railroad laid its tracks through the area parallel to *El Camino Real* in 1899, a town sprang up to serve the needs of construction crews working in the tunnels down the Cuesta Pass to San Luis Obispo.

The ruins of the *asistencia*'s main building are now protected from the elements by a large galvanized iron barn on the present-day ranch of William Reis, about half a mile due north of the town of Santa Margarita. Today, as one observer noticed, it is "a marvel that, in a climate of such high rainfall . . . and with the limitations imposed by the use of soluble adobe bricks and inadequately mortared stone, anything whatever is left."²² In addition to the *asistencia*, three adobe buildings still remain, the *hacienda*, main residence, and pump house.

Santa Margarita, located on an elevated piece of land alongside the river, was built of huge pieces of rough sandstone, red bricks, mortar, and tile. Walls three feet thick still stand at intervals of thirty feet from one another. Only the beamed ceilings have collapsed with the passage of time. The exquisitely-designed interior arches indicate skillful planning.

ASISTENCIA SAN ANTONIO DE PALA

The picturesque Asistencia San Antonio de Pala, located in a narrow valley about twenty miles from Mission San Luis Rey at the base of Palomar Mountain, has been described as "the most interesting of all the chapels in the mission chain."²³ First mention of Pala, a place of abundant water, appears in the annual report of Mission San Luis Rey for 1810, wherein Father Antonio Peyri recorded building a granary at Rancho de Pala. Six years later, a chapel was constructed there, and "within a year or two about a thousand converts were gathered to till the soil and recite the doctrine."²⁴ By 1818, a town was beginning to take shape, and three years later Father Mariano Payéras noted that nothing was lacking at Pala for a mission, save the assignment of a resident friar.

The *asistencia* prospered, and in 1827 José Maria Echeandía reported that Mission San Luis Rey "has a station called San Antonio de Pala, with a church, dwellings, and granaries and with a few fields where wheat, corn, beans, garbanzos, and other leguminous plants are grown."²⁵ San Antonio was sold, along with Mission San Luis Rey, on November 14, 1845, to José A. Cot and José A. Pico in a transaction subsequently nullified by the United States Land Commission. Today San Antonio de Pala is the only one of the California missionary establishments still serving the spiritual needs of an exclusively Indian population, the Palatinguas, who were moved there from Warner's Ranch by the United States government.

ASISTENCIA SANTA YSABÉL

Far in the back country, about sixty miles from San Diego in the secluded peace of a mountain valley, is a lonely outpost of Provincial California, the site of the Asistencia Santa Ysabel. There is evidence that Father Fernando Martín blessed

the site for a *capilla* of Santa Ysabel (Elcuanam) on September 20, 1818, and soon thereafter erected a temporary chapel.

On February 2, 1819, Father Vicente Sarria, noting that in the place called Santa Ysabel toward the Sierra they could count a goodly number of baptized souls, asked the governor for a permit to erect a house of worship.²⁶ Authorization was eventually granted, and "by 1822 a chapel had been built at Santa Isabél, and there were also several houses, a granary, and a graveyard, with four hundred and fifty neophytes at this branch establishment, which proved a great aid in keeping the gentiles quiet."²⁷ A report dated May 7, 1839, revealed that the natives at Santa Ysabel "have their fields on which they cultivate wheat, barley, corn, beans, horse-beans, peas and other seeds for their maintenance, besides keeping two vineyards and orchards and their horses."²⁸

As early as 1836, however "the corrosion of mountain weather began to inch into the foundation of the lovely chapel and other buildings."²⁹ Before the passage of another decade, the chapel was in utter ruins and the mud houses no longer habitable. By the time the Church regained title to Santa Ysabel in 1893, practically nothing of the original establishment remained. A contemporary account, written in 1899, testified that the adobe walls of the church, leveled by time and washed by winter rains, "have sunk into indistinguishable heaps of earth which vaguely define the outlines of the ancient edifice."³⁰ Nonetheless, as Zephyrin Engelhardt observed in 1920, "all the natives from the coast to the Sierras around Santa Ysabel were eventually won for Christ, and of all the Indians still living in San Diego County, those who survived the eviction from the mission and its stations through the greed of unscrupulous fortune hunters, have generally speaking themselves or their descendants remained not only the most numerous but also the most religious and moral."³¹

Although frequently referred to as a "mission,"³² Santa Ysabel was only an *asistencia*, lacking "only a resident priest to make it a mission."³³ Those visiting the region today will find that nothing remains of the original buildings uncovered and identified in 1963 by a team of archaeologists, beyond the bare outlines of the structure, faintly visible under the pasture grass.³⁴

ASISTENCIA NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS ANGELES

The last of the *asistencias* reviewed in this essay differed sharply from its counterparts insofar as it was never intended as an independent mission. Rather, Nuestra Señora de los Angeles was envisioned as a *pueblo* church, destined as such to achieve autonomy only in the parochial sphere.³⁵

Early annals indicate that a crude adobe *capilla* was erected before the end of 1784, near the corner of later-day Buena Vista Street and Bellevue Avenue.³⁶ Completed in 1789, it "somewhat resembled the Chapel of the hospital of the old Mission at San Gabriel which was built in 1814."³⁷ A petition was made for a new edifice in 1810, and four years later Father Luis Gil revealed plans to lay the first stone on the fifteenth of August,³⁸ the *pueblo's* titular feastday. Unfortunately, the half-completed structure, located in the vicinity of Aliso Street and the river,³⁹ was destroyed by a flood in 1815.

The present Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles dates from 1822, when Father Mariano Payéras spearheaded a drive to raise the necessary requisites from

the previously-established missions. On December 8, the church "conceived in brandy, roofed by a pirate, and dedicated to the Holy Mother of God,"⁴⁰ was formally set aside as a place of divine worship. Completion of the edifice did not bring about independence from San Gabriel, for even after 1822, "Los Angeles was still regarded as an *asistencia*, not as a parish."⁴¹ Priestly ministrations at the church were furnished by *padres* from San Gabriel until the appointment of a resident chaplain.

The *asistencia*, never architecturally outstanding, profited little from its numerous restorations. An historian of the site has observed, "Lacking good written history, the building has suffered in the literary realm as well as the historical. Repeated remodelings eventually robbed the building of its 'Spanish' appearance, and when this disappeared the interest of the writer, the architect, and the historian waned. Not being a 'mission,' it was relegated to the sideline, as the ever-present tourist came to California to see missions . . . and not Victorianized *pueblo* churches of the Spanish Colonial Period."⁴²

III. PRESIDIO CHAPELS

Besides furnishing guards for the various missions, the *presidios* in Provincial California were charged with protecting the general interests of the Spanish government. The *presidios* or forts were not looked upon as either *asistencias* or mission stations, having as they did a purpose all their own. Though the realm was obligated to provide chaplains for these foundations, the actual burden of caring for the spiritual needs of those attached to the forts usually fell, by default, to the friars at the closest mission. Each of the four major *presidios* had its own *capilla*, where the *padres* functioned while attending the garrison.

SAN DIEGO

Although there was probably an earlier temporary settlement, the birthplace of civilization in Alta California is traditionally associated with a spot near present-day San Diego, atop the incline known as Presidio Hill. There, on July 16, 1769, huts were built, one of which was dedicated as a church. By December 10, 1773, Father Francisco Palóu was able to report to the viceroy that "inside the stockade is the church which consists of a chapel made of logs with a tule roof."⁴³ This building served the Indians of the area until the mission was moved to the valley upstream in August of 1774. Earlier that year on January 1 the military camp at San Diego was advanced to presidial status and officially authorized to quarter the guards and military force attached to the mission.

The San Diego buildings themselves were of a mediocre construction and to such visitors as George Vancouver "the Presidio of San Diego seemed to be the least of the Spanish settlements."⁴⁴ José Maria Echeandía made his headquarters there from 1825 to 1829, but after his departure the whole compound was abandoned, and gradually the walls of the adobe chapel crumbled into shapeless mounds of earth. The site was reactivated only in 1929, when a civic-minded organization erected on Presidio Hill the Junípero Serra museum.

SAN CARLOS

La Capilla del Real Presidio, the provincial era's most important church in the

political sense, was erected for the benefit of the governor, the officers and soldiers of the *presidio*, and their families.

In the initial foundation, located along the shore of the beach not far from where the packet-boats anchored, an "arbor of boughs" served as the proto-chapel of the *presidio*.⁴⁵ It was formally placed under the spiritual patronage of San Carlos Borromeo on June 3, 1770.

Permanent buildings were observed under construction, and the pioneers built a chapel of palings to serve as a makeshift house-of-worship. It was readied for use on July 14, 1770.⁴⁶ During the first weeks, the original buildings constituted both *presidio* and church.

Manuel Estévan Ruíz, one of the master-masons sent to California after 1790 to teach whites and Indians trades and skills useful to the colony, supervised the construction of the sandstone church which he situated on the south side of the plaza as part of the twelve-foot wall enclosing the entire compound. Completed in 1794 by Indian laborers, the *capilla* was blessed on January 25, 1795, by Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuén.⁴⁷

An early description of the *capilla* is contained in an official report to Viceroy Antonio Maria Bucareli, dated November 29, 1773, by Captain Pedro Fages:

In the wing of the *presidio* on the south side facing the base is an adobe church whose foundations are of stone set in mortar. These foundations extend two quarters above the surface and are a *vara* and a half in width. Upon these foundations rise the walls five fourths in thickness. The church is fifteen *varas* long, seven *varas* wide and seven *varas* high. Twenty hewn beams each a palm in width and ten *varas* in length have an overlay of cane and upon this rests the roof which is flat. This has a cover of lime. The roof has four spouts to carry off the rain water.⁴⁸

The present *capilla* never actually functioned as a mission church, inasmuch as Fray Junípero Serra relocated Mission San Carlos Borromeo at Carmel in August, 1771.

In 1885 the chapel was enlarged, and three years later the transept, with its elaborately-carved doors, was added. The ornate facade completed in 1796 remains almost as erected, although the pyramidal roof upon the tower was added in 1893. San Carlos enjoyed the distinction of being a pro-cathedral in 1851-1853, when Bishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany resided at Monterey and frequently pontificated at liturgical functions in the historic edifice. Presently, San Carlos, the hub of a busy parochial center, serves as the mother-church of the re-christened Diocese of Monterey.

SAN FRANCISCO

The site for the *presidio* at San Francisco was selected by Juan Bautista de Anza on March 28, 1776, and dedicated on the following September 17. By 1792, however, "none of the structures were those originally built."⁴⁹ A second chapel was severely damaged by earthquake in 1808, and, two years later, the governor reported that storms had completely destroyed the adobe edifice.

In 1825, Benjamin Morrell described the *presidio* as comprising only about 120 houses and a church.⁵⁰ The next year an English navigator spoke of the chapel and the governor's houses as being distinguished only by their whitewash. After

1836 no regular troops were stationed there, and by 1840 the adobe chapel was in ruins.

SANTA BARBARA

Santa Barbara, the last of the presidial *pueblos*,⁵¹ was founded on "the edge of a grove of oaks apart from the beach and the Indian village, and not far away from the lagoon."⁵² The formal inauguration took place on April 21, 1782, when Father Junípero Serra said Mass and chanted an *alabado*.⁵³ Francisco Palóu noted that the following day, soldiers "began to hew wood to build a chapel. . . ."⁵⁴ Situated opposite the *presidio* gate, the adobe church was flanked on one side by the house of the *comandante* and on the other by that of the chaplain.

Father Fermín Francisco de Lasuén recorded that in 1786 the dilapidated condition of the church forced him to baptize in private homes.⁵⁵ A rebuilt adobe edifice was finished in 1797,⁵⁶ but the disastrous tremblors of 1812 practically obliterated the entire *presidio*. Again, however, the church was restored, and by the time José Antonio de la Guerra arrived at Santa Barbara in 1815, it was "the pride of the Spanish forces in California."⁵⁷ In 1831, a resident chaplain, Father Antonio Menéndez, O.P., was given charge of the *capilla*. The chapel was no longer used after the erection of Our Lady of Sorrows Church, and in 1855, the venerable adobe was torn down.

IV. ESTANCIAS

As the neophyte population increased, it became necessary to remove the flocks and herds from the immediate vicinity of the missions where land was needed for growing fruits and vegetables. The first of the mission ranches or *estancias* came into being in 1774, when the *padres* from San Diego opened a corral for mares and horses at nearby Rancho San Luis. In some cases, *capillas* or chapels were provided at those outpost stations. Since the mission ranches themselves eventually fell into private hands, most of the *capillas* were alienated and later abandoned. For that reason, the few references found in the annals about those chapels give only fragmentary and oftentimes misleading information. In some cases, the very existence of a particular *capilla* is questioned. Those mentioned here are arranged chronologically by the earliest known dates.

One of the most pressing needs at Mission San Francisco de Asís was tillable land to offset the inadequate acreage in the area of Lake Dolores. As a result, in 1785 Fray Francisco Palóu established Rancho San Pedro y San Pablo about fourteen miles southeast of the mission for that purpose.⁵⁸ The adobe chapel was once thought to have been erected soon after the earthquake of 1808.⁵⁹ A more recent evaluation indicates that the *capilla* is likely identical with the one reected in 1786. The chapel, a storehouse, and two other undesignated rooms are first mentioned in the annual report of Mission San Francisco for 1786, where they are referred to as "*la nueva labor de San Pedro y San Pablo*."⁶⁰ It was there, in 1787, that "an Indian child called Maria was baptized in the church at that place."⁶¹ The *padres* subsequently declared that without the agricultural outpost of San Pedro y San Pablo, they could not have provided for their neophytes and the maintenance of the parent foundation.⁶² The adobe building, occasionally referred to in the annals as San Mateo, was demolished after sustaining serious damage in the tremblors of 1868.

A temporary chapel was erected in 1808⁶³ for the Indian community residing at the entrance to Casitas Pass, seven miles north of Mission San Buenaventura. Placed under the patronage of Santa Gertrudis, the chapel substituted for the parent institution which was severely damaged in the earthquake of 1812. It is related that after the tremblor, "a *jacal* church was improvised and several baptisms and burials are recorded in the mission registers as having taken place there."⁶⁴ The last official mention of the *capilla* was made in 1857, although it may have survived until 1868. By 1880, the chapel was in ruins, its adobe cracked by time and weather, its tile roof sagging perilously.⁶⁵

In 1803, "in order to attend better to the necessities of the Indians, and facilitate their attendance at Mass and instructions, a station was selected and a Church built on a large *rancheria* called *Sagshpileel*, six miles from Santa Barbara."⁶⁶ A little adobe dedicated to San Miguel was erected among a well-cultivated orchard, and it served the spiritual needs of those neophytes attached to Santa Barbara's main wheat ranch until it was destroyed by earthquake in 1812. Its ruins were discernible as late as 1886.⁶⁷

One prominent historian states that after 1804,⁶⁸ on the cattle ranch of San Márcos (Mistwaghehewary) near the further side of the pass bearing the same appellation, "a chapel of adobe was also built in order that the *Padres* might celebrate Mass when they came to inspect the *ranch*o."⁶⁹ Despite the fact that the noted historian, Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, endowed the foundation with the dignity of *asistencia*,⁷⁰ a thorough examination of the early Santa Barbara inventories creates some doubt about the very existence of the *capilla*.⁷¹ The eminent Maynard J. Geiger stated categorically to this writer that "there was no chapel in San Márcos Ranch."⁷²

According to Bancroft, "in 1809, Governor José Joaquín de Arrillaga approved the building of a chapel at San Miguelito,"⁷³ one of the *estancias* attached to Mission San Luis Obispo. If a chapel was ever built on the corn and bean ranch, it certainly had perished by 1830, when the ranch and buildings of San Miguelito,⁷⁴ located a few miles from the quaint town of Avila, were destroyed by the elements. Father José Zalvidéa wrote in 1816 from La Puente, a cattle ranch of Mission San Gabriel, that a chapel was needed for the 600 Indians of that area.⁷⁵ But here, as at San Miguelito, there is no physical evidence that one was ever erected.

The small *colegiata* of San Miguel Arcángel, located less than a mile from Mission San Buenaventura, was probably intended as some sort of local shrine.⁷⁶ It was replaced in 1816 with a more sturdy edifice and, in a report of May 4, 1819, Father Mariano Payéras specifically mentioned a "chapel dedicated to Saint Michael."⁷⁷ The *capilla* was severely damaged by floods in 1832, and its crumbling walls were dismantled altogether in the 1870's.

On the grounds of the old San Bernardino Rancho is the restored *estancia* or *ranch*o chapel mistakenly referred to as an *asistencia*.⁷⁸ In the years after concluding his extensive researches on the history of San Bernardino Valley, Father Juan Caballeria reportedly came across a record book at Mission San Gabriel which described how Fray Francisco Dumetz "founded a *capilla* on the Guachama *ranchería* on May 20, 1810, under the advocacy of San Bernardino de Siena."⁷⁹ Another prominent historian conjectured that the San Bernardino *estancia* supposedly established there lasted for about two years until a series of earthquakes

in 1812 so unnerved the unchristianized natives that they attacked the foundation, slew most of the neophytes, and burned the buildings.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, no corroborative evidence has been located to substantiate that claim and, in the absence of the book on which Caballeria based his contention, historians are generally inclined to agree with Hubert Howe Bancroft that "it does not appear that any station was established at San Bernardino, nor were any buildings erected there down to 1822."⁸¹ Caballeria's published history relates that "in 1819, the Guachama Indians requested the *padres* to again establish themselves in the valley. The request was favorably received and immediate steps were taken by the *padres* to build another and larger branch mission"⁸² at a location about eight miles from the original site. In subsequent years "it seems that at stated times the Fathers celebrated holy Mass there for the Indians guarding the herds, and that in time it would have developed into an *asistencia* or regular mission station."⁸³ Most recently, the *capilla* has been restored, along with other buildings at the site, and is now a worthwhile attraction.

One of the most famous of California's cattle ranches was that of San Pedro or Las Flores, attached to Mission San Luis Rey. From a commanding knoll overlooking the blue Pacific, Alfred Robinson described in great detail how its gardens were "cultivated by the Indians, for their own personal benefit."⁸⁴ A *capilla* was put up on the ranch sometime before 1823,⁸⁵ and Father Antonio Peyri noted on December 22, 1827, that "Rancho San Pedro, known as Los Flores . . . has a house, granaries, and a chapel."⁸⁶ Two decades later, William B. Emory related that his expedition encamped near Las Flores which, by then, was like a "deserted mission. . . ."⁸⁷

Sometime prior to 1824, perhaps as early as 1806, Father José Zalvidéa, hoping to establish a frontier outpost in the San Joaquin Valley, succeeded in erecting the walls of a stone church. Had his efforts materialized, "San Emigdio would undoubtedly have developed along the lines of San Antonio de Pala."⁸⁸ In later years the building served as headquarters for Rancho San Emigdio and, after 1842, was utilized for a residence by the Dominguez Family. The remains of "San Emigdio *Extendencia* [sic]" were still visible, in 1936.⁸⁹

The small chapel at Rancho San Francisco, formerly affiliated with Mission San Fernando, is located in the refurbished adobe built sometime after 1804. When Antonio del Valle took over the Camulos Ranch in 1839, his family occupied the building and fashioned four rooms of the adobe into a *capilla*. Located in a narrow valley between two mountain chains, the historic edifice has remained essentially unchanged since 1881 when Helen Hunt Jackson used the setting for part of her novel, *Ramona*. The historian of Rancho San Francisco erroneously labelled it a "mission *asistencia*"⁹⁰ although it lacked even a chapel prior to 1839.

While sharing little of the romantic aura now associated with the twenty-one missions themselves, the widely scattered network of *capillas* in California, whether they were attached to quasi-missions, *presidios*, *asistencias*, or *estancias*, were no less exalted in purpose than those of their parent foundations. Like the missions in whose shadow they functioned, the *capillas* testify, even in their ruins, "to a spirit of devotion and sacrifice which can be understood only by the knowledge of the divine vocation which called them [the friars] to leave home and kindred and give up their lives to the people confided to their spiritual care."⁹¹

Non-Mission Ecclesiastical Foundations
in Provincial California
1769-1840

| TITLE OF FOUNDATION | DATE | STATUS |
|---|-------------|---------------|
| San Diego | 1769 | Presidio |
| San Carlos | 1770 | Presidio |
| San Francisco | 1776 | Presidio |
| Purísima Concepción de Maria Santísima | 1780 | Quasi-Mission |
| San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer | 1780 | Quasi-Mission |
| Santa Barbara | 1782 | Presidio |
| Nuestra Señora de los Angeles | 1784 | Asistencia |
| San Pedro y San Pablo | 1785 | Estancia |
| Santa Margarita de Cortuna | 1787 | Asistencia |
| San Miguel Arcángel | 1803 | Estancia |
| San Márcos | After 1804 | Estancia |
| Santa Gertrudis | 1808 | Estancia |
| San Miguelito | 1809 | Estancia |
| San Antonio de Pala | 1810 | Asistencia |
| San Miguel Arcángel | Before 1816 | Estancia |
| La Puente | c. 1816 | Estancia |
| San Rafael Arcángel | 1817 | Asistencia |
| Santa Ysabel | 1818 | Asistencia |
| San Bernardino | 1822 | Estancia |
| San Pedro (Las Flores) | Before 1823 | Estancia |
| San Emígdio | Before 1824 | Estancia |
| San Francisco | After 1839 | Estancia |

NOTES

1. W. W. Robinson, *Land in California*, 12 (Berkeley, 1948).
2. In this context a mission can be defined as "a congregation of convert Indians who makes their homes in a village close by the church and who under the eyes of one or two missionary priests learn and practice the Christian Religion, and for their own maintenance are taught mechanical and domestic arts, gardening, agriculture, and stockraising, in order to become useful citizens." See Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *San Gabriel Mission*, 347 (San Gabriel, 1927).
3. "Gather up the fragments that remain, lest they perish." John 6:12.
4. Study of the present mission churches and their predecessors would be a worthy research in itself. In addition to the first two of California's missions which originated at presidial sites, six of the missions were moved from their initial location, one three times.
5. For a brief outline of this type of missionary establishment, see Juan Domingo Arricivita, O.F.M., *Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de las Santa Cruz de Querétaro*, 497-502 (Mexico, 1792).
6. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, II:352 (San Francisco, 1912).
7. Elliott Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, I:19 (New York, 1900).
8. A third *pueblo*, to be named San Lorenzo, apparently never materialized. It may have been envisioned for that area between the other two *pueblos* where the friars "established a kind of missionary station . . . where the natives were occasionally assembled for religious instruction." See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, I:360 (San Francisco, 1884).
9. Juan Barreneche to Guardian, Fort Yuma, January 16, 1781. Quoted in Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *Palou's Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 461 (Washington, 1955).
10. Bancroft, *History*, I:370-371.
11. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission*, 347.
12. Founded on December 14, 1817, San Rafael was declared a mission in 1823.
13. Bancroft, *History*, I:610.
14. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, III:112 (Berkeley, 1930).
15. William R. Cameron, "Rancho Santa Margarita of San Luis Obispo," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVI:5 (March, 1957).
16. J. Ross Browne, "A Dangerous Journey," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, CXLV:14 (June, 1862).
17. Cameron, "Rancho Santa Margarita," 7.
18. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California*, 53 (Oakland, 1947).
19. "Transcript of the Proceedings in Case No. 501, Joaquín Estrada vs. the United States," p. 12.
20. Francis P. Farquhar (ed.), *Up and Down California in 1860-1864. The Journal of William H. Brewer*, 93 (Berkeley, 1966).
21. Chris N. Jespersen, *A History of San Luis Obispo*, 306 (San Luis Obispo, 1939).
22. Cameron, "Rancho Santa Margarita," 14-15.
23. Rexford Newcomb, *The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California*, 144 (Philadelphia, 1925).
24. Bancroft, *History*, II:347.
25. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *San Luis Rey Mission*, 51 (San Francisco, 1921).
26. Santa Barbara Mission Archives, Vicente Sarria to Mariano Payéras, Monterey, February 2, 1819.
27. Bancroft, *History*, II:552.
28. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *San Diego Mission*, 238 (San Francisco, 1920).
29. Charles Russell Quinn, *The Story of Mission Santa Ysabel*, 15 (Downey, 1964).
30. Constance Goddard du Bois, "Some Unknown Missions of California," *Land of Sunshine*, XI:18 (November, 1899).
31. Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission*, 303.
32. George William Beattie, *California's Unbuilt Missions*, 47 (Los Angeles, 1930).
33. Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission*, 238.
34. Mildred Ruth Hoover, et al, *Historic Spots in California*, 335 (Stanford, 1966).
35. The only other early California *pueblo* having a *capilla* was that of San José de Guadalupe A

small adobe was erected there in 1803 and, though weakened by earthquakes the following year, the little chapel lasted until 1835 when it was considerably enlarged. It was later encased in brick and perdured in that condition for another twenty-four years until its destruction by fire in 1859. The present church dates only from 1887. Cf. Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., "Municipal Institutions in Spanish California, 1769-1821" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1962), p. 381.

36. Bancroft, *History*, I:346.
37. Andrew Resa, *History of the Old Plaza Mission*, 8 (Los Angeles, n.d.).
38. See Francis J. Weber, *El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles*, 12 (Los Angeles, 1968).
39. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 101 (New York, 1926).
40. J. Thomas Owen, "The Church by the Plaza," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XLII:15-16 (March, 1960).
41. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission*, 136.
42. Owen, "Church by the Plaza," 197.
43. Quoted in Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, III:215 (Berkeley, 1926).
44. Marguerite Eyer Wilbur (ed.), *Vancouver in California*, 230 (Los Angeles, 1954).
45. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Mission San Carlos Borromeo*, 26 (Santa Barbara, 1934).
46. See Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., "A Description of California's Principal Presidio, Monterey, in 1773," *Southern California Quarterly*, XL:X:326-36 (September, 1967).
47. James Culleton, *Indians and Pioneers of Old Monterey*, 144 (Fresno, 1950).
48. See Geiger, "Description of California's Principal Presidio, Monterey, in 1773," 328.
49. Bancroft, *History*, I:695.
50. Quoted in Bancroft, *History*, II:588.
51. See Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., *The Symbolism of Santa Barbara Presidio* (Santa Barbara, 1968).
52. Francisco Paláu, O.F.M., *Noticias de la Nueva California*, IV:241 (San Francisco, 1874).
53. Bancroft, *History*, I:377.
54. Geiger, *Palou's Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, p. 230.
55. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Santa Barbara Mission*, 195 (San Francisco, 1923).
56. See Timothy S. Hillebrand, "Tentative Summary of Archaeological Findings at the Presidio Chapel Site," *Noticias*, XIII:n.p. (Autumn, 1967).
57. Joseph A. Thompson, O.F.M., *El Gran Capitan*, 20 (Los Angeles, 1961).
58. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra*, O.F.M., II:393-94 (Washington, 1959).
59. Frank Merriman Stanger, "The Hospice or Mission San Mateo," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXIII:253 (September, 1944).
60. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., "New Data on the Buildings of Mission San Francisco," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLVI:202 (September, 1967).
61. Stanger, "Mission San Mateo," p. 250.
62. "Annual Report of 1783," *Misiones de la Alta California*, 2a serie, tomo 2, Archivo General de la Nación.
63. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *Santa Barbara News-Press*, December 16, 1966.
64. Bancroft, *History*, II:365.
65. See Roberta S. Greenwood and R. O. Browne, "Preliminary Survey of the Rancho Canada Larga, Ventura County, California," *Archaeological Survey, Annual Report, 1962-1963*, pp. 467-497 (Los Angeles, 1963).
66. J. J. O'Keeffe, O.F.M., *The Buildings and Churches of the Mission of Santa Barbara*, 17 (Santa Barbara, 1886).
67. Bancroft, *History*, II:120.
68. See Gloria Brooks Forsyth, "The Lost Chapel of Cieneguita," *Noticias*, VII:11-17 (Spring, 1961).
69. Edith Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions*, 97 (Los Angeles, 1952).
70. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, IV:457n.
71. See Dwight Murphy, "Ranchero San Marcos," *Noticias*, IV:1-7 (October, 1958).
72. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M. to author, Santa Barbara, October 26, 1964.
73. Bancroft, *History*, II:148.

74. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Mission San Luis Obispo*, 122 (Santa Barbara, 1933).
75. Webb, *Indian Life*, 93.
76. Bancroft, *History*, II:365.
77. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *San Buenaventura*, 43 (Santa Barbara, 1930).
78. In a letter to the Apostolic College of San Fernando, in Mexico City, dated September 25, 1837, Fray Narciso Durán used the term *asistencia* in relation to San Bernardino. But, in fact, as Zephyrin Engelhardt explains in great detail, San Bernardino "was never as *Asistencia*, since it lacked all the requisites for such an establishment." See *San Gabriel Mission*, 347.
79. George William Beattie, "San Bernardino Valley before the Americans Came," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XII:121 (June, 1933).
80. George Wharton James, *In and Out of the Old Missions of California*, 282-85 (Boston, 1905).
81. Bancroft, *History*, II:356.
82. *History of San Bernardino Valley from the Padres to the Pioneers*, 66 (San Bernardino, 1892).
83. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission*, 143.
84. Robinson, *Life in California*, 18.
85. See Edgar W. Hebert, "Las Flores," *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly*, VII:31-36 (July, 1961).
86. Engelhardt, *San Luis Rey Mission*, 52.
87. *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance* (Washington, 1848), p. 117.
88. Frank F. Latta, "San Joaquin Primeval Archaeology," *Tulare Times*, 1931.
89. Frank F. Latta, *El Camino Viejo á Los Angeles*, 4 (Bakersfield, 1936).
90. Arthur B. Perkins, "Rancho San Francisco: A Study of a California Land Grant," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XXXIX:107 (June, 1957).
91. Thomas J. Conaty in *The Tidings*, December 24, 1909.

In Memoriam

FRANCIS PELOUBET FARQUHAR, a member of the California Historical Society for more than fifty years, died on November 20, 1974, at the age of eighty-eight. Born in Massachusetts, educated at Harvard, and a certified public accountant by profession, he devoted himself to a variety of interests after coming to California. He was a respected authority on the Sierra Nevada, a vigorous mountaineer, and an active participant in the American Alpine Club, the California Alpine Club, the Sierra Club, Save-the-Redwoods League, Bohemian Club, and the California Society of CPAs. His support of the California Academy of Sciences helped ensure the establishment of the Planetarium, and he was named by the Academy in 1960 as the first honorary trustee. His distinguished editorship of the Sierra Club *Bulletin* extended for a period of twenty years.

Among his published works are *History of the Sierra Nevada*; a bibliography, *Yosemite, the Big Trees and the High Sierra*; *Mount Olympus Revisited*; and *Flight to the North Pole*. He edited *Up and Down California in 1860-1864*; *The Journal of William Brewer* and Clarence King's *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada*, and he wrote sections on Yosemite, the Sierra Nevada, and the Sequoia for *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Once while in Seattle to do an excess profit return and finding himself unable to sleep, he concocted the *Catalogue of Rare Books and Manuscripts* to be offered for sale by the "Caveat Bookshop." The booklet was printed by Grabhorn Press, and to Mr. Farquhar's delight some of the items listed were "ordered" by New York book dealers.

As a mountain climber credited with two first ascents—and also as the first American to climb Mount Olympus—he was on intimate terms with the regions he wrote about; his library on mountaineering, given to UCLA, is one of the world's most complete. The honorary degree presented him by the University of California in 1967 declared that he "shamelessly led a double life as a successful CPA and historian of the Sierras."

He served on the state commission to designate historical landmarks from 1930 to 1950, when he resigned to accept an appointment to the California State Board of Accountancy. He later donated his papers concerning the commission's work to the CHS Manuscript Library.

Mr. Farquhar's affiliation with the California Historical Society began shortly after its 1922 reactivation, and as a member of the Publications Committee from those early days, he helped nurture the *Quarterly*, which he felt has continued to stand up as a fine contribution to California history. Apart from the usual editorial duties and the writing of occasional obituaries and book reviews, he wrote several important articles, including "Exploration of the Sierra Nevada" (1925), "Camels in the Sketches of Edward Vischer" (1930), and "Drake in California: A Review of the Evidence" (1957). As a speaker at the Society's luncheon meetings, he discoursed on Josiah Whitney and Lieutenant George H. Derby. CHS named him a Fellow of the Society in 1962 and honored him in 1966 with the Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award for his *History of the Sierra Nevada*.

In addition to twenty-eight years' service to the CHS editorial advisory committee, he was on the Board of Trustees, and as its President in 1960-1961, he welcomed the 3,000th member into the Society. It pleased him in the last year of his life that CHS had flourished to the extent of doubling its membership in fifteen years.

CAROLYN MCGOVERN, honorary CHS archivist and assistant to manuscripts, interviewed Mr. Farquhar shortly before his death for the CHS archives' oral history project.

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

History on Tape: The Regional Oral History Office at The Bancroft Library

WILLA K. BAUM, *head of the Regional Oral History Office at the University of California, Berkeley.*

For over a century oral history has been an intrinsic part of The Bancroft Library's extensive collection of manuscripts, books, and newspapers on the West. In the early 1870's Hubert Howe Bancroft, the library's founder, recognized that much of the information he was seeking to collect on the settlement of the West had not been recorded and never would be, although it still existed in the memories of living persons. So, armed with letters of introduction, Bancroft himself, his agents, and sometimes his wife and daughter fanned out over the West from Alaska to Mexico, taking down the reminiscences of the participants in the westward movement. These Dictations, used by Bancroft and his co-authors in the writing of his thirty-nine volume *Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, have been and continue to be prime sources for researchers studying the history of the West.

Acknowledging the importance of this material, historian Henry Raup Wagner, writing about The Bancroft Library in 1942, declared:

The great value of the library today consists not in the collection of books but in the wealth of manuscript and printed material which Mr. Bancroft obtained from the old California grandees, and the personal reminiscences of the pioneers which were dictated to some of his agents.

The completion of Bancroft's *Works* in the 1880's ended the first phase of collecting oral history at The Bancroft Library. It was not resumed again until 1953, following the invention of the tape recorder and the subsequent establishment in 1948 of Columbia University's oral history program. Historian Allan Nevins conceived that program, he explained, for the purpose of obtaining "from the lips and papers of living Americans who have led significant lives a fuller record of their participation in the political, economic, and cultural life of the last sixty years."

A cautious re-entry into oral history was initiated by the Manuscript Division of The Bancroft Library in 1953 with a tape-recorded interview with Alice B. Toklas which was intended to enhance the usability of the library's collection of Gertrude Stein papers. The success of that venture in manuscript supplementation, along with the university administration's interest in documenting its own history for its approaching centennial, led to the creation of a separately funded oral history program in 1954. As understood

by the Regents, the program was designed to tape-record "persons who had contributed significantly to the development of the West." Since that date the Regional Oral History Office (ROHO) has completed 272 interviews totaling 42,665 transcript pages. (An interview varies from one to thirty recording sessions.)

In keeping with the Regents' assignment, the majority of the interviews have been with leading figures or well-placed witnesses to major events or trends in the history of Northern California, the West, or the nation. A few interviews are undertaken as single memoirs, but most are undertaken as a series of related memoirs in fields including forestry and conservation, fine printing, University of California history, agriculture and water resources, California-Russian emigrés, politics, and business. Subject fields and persons for interview are recommended and approved by the faculty and, because all interviews require special outside financing, by the availability of funds. In preparing for the interview, the interviewer investigates the subject, obtains background material on each interviewee, and prepares and goes over outlines with the interviewee. The interviews, informal conversations, usually take place in the home or office of the interviewee. The resulting manuscripts, often with supporting papers, photographs, and other historical materials, are deposited in The Bancroft Library. A copy also is sent to the library at the University of California at Los Angeles in accordance with its exchange program.

Interviewees have the option of closing their interviews for a specified period of time or otherwise restricting their use, but most choose to open them for research or to close only a few sensitive pages. Transcripts may be quoted for publication with the permission of the Director of The Bancroft Library (who first gains approval from the interviewee). Copies of the transcripts are available to other manuscript libraries at the cost of reproduction, again, with the interviewee's permission. To date, 1005 transcripts have been deposited in 155 other libraries in the United States and abroad.

While there is no printed catalogue for the ROHO collection (a patron has not yet been found to fund this worthy project), lists of interviews dealing with special topics

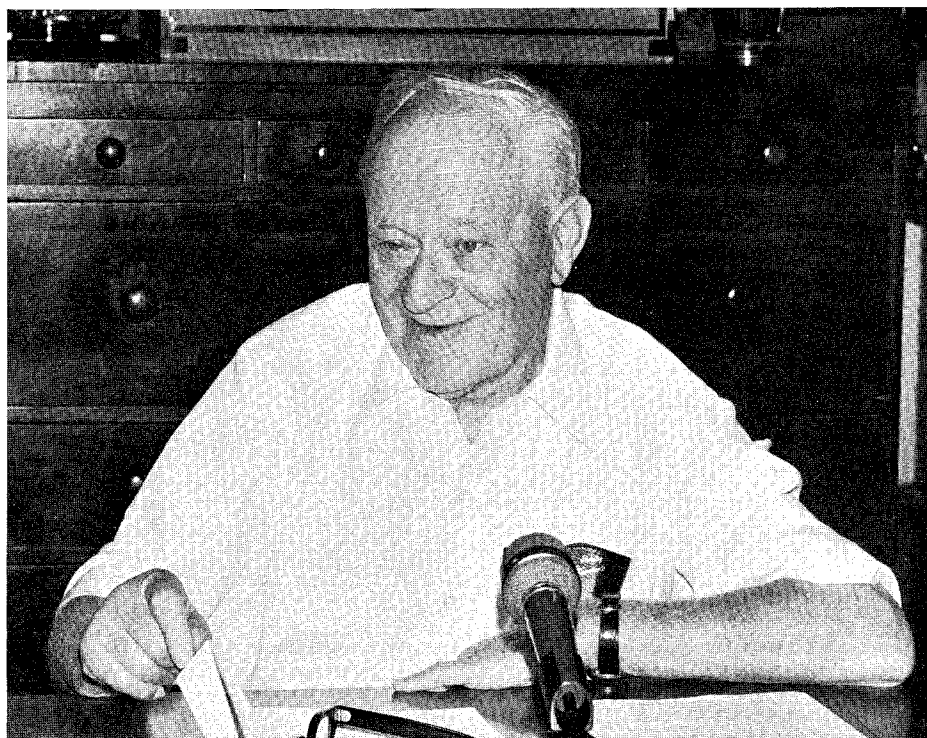
The late Louis M. Martini participated in ROHO'S California Wine Industry project, a series of oral history memoirs by twenty-four important winemen.
Photo by Catherine Harroun, 1972.



are available at the Heller Reading Room. The reading room also houses a partial collection of catalogues from other oral history offices across the country and a manual on producing oral history tapes.

Because the limitations of the ROHO staff and budget make it impossible to investigate all the significant topics and persons in northern California, let alone the West, a Donated Tapes Collection has been established to encourage researchers and history buffs to do their own recording and to donate the tapes for preservation and use in The Bancroft Library. A significant body of information has been preserved in this manner, although it is in the less convenient form of untranscribed tapes. These tapes may be found under subject and interviewee headings in the Motion Picture-Sound Recordings catalogue. Examples of donated tapes are interviews with Japanese Americans about World War II relocation camps, conducted by Anne Loftis and Audrie Girder in preparation for their book, *The Great Betrayal*; interviews with descendants of Gold Rush Jews, conducted by Robert E. Levinson, a professor at San Jose State University; interviews with radical agricultural-worker leaders, conducted by San Francisco State University student George Ewart; and one hundred interviews with Asian Americans involved in theater, film, and writing, conducted by the Combined Asian Resources Project, a group of student-actor writers directed by Frank Chinn.

Because ROHO interviews are planned to meet the research needs of a broad spectrum of present and future users, the office welcomes the critical use of its completed transcripts, comments on the interviews, and recommendations for future interview series (with recommendations for funding). Frequently researchers' questions can be included in interviews that are still in the recording stage. In process are series on the Earl Warren Era in California (1925-1953), the California wine industry, architect Julia Morgan and Bay Area architecture, the Levi Strauss Company, woman suffragists, California women political leaders (1920-1960), University of California history, Sierra Club history, San Francisco Bay maritime history, the arts and the community, and many single memoirs.



Reflections by Scholars on the Uses of Oral History

Countless scholars in diverse fields make use of the growing Regional Oral History Office collections. Kathryn Anderson, assistant professor at Fairhaven College, Bellingham, Washington, studied taped interviews and transcripts with early twentieth-century woman suffrage activists. Mary Ellen Leary, free-lance writer and journalist living in Piedmont, utilized the ROHO interview with the eminent University of California at Berkeley economist, Paul Taylor, to supplement her own interviews in preparation of an article for The Nation magazine. Following are the two writers' reflections on the information and insights characteristically revealed in oral history interviews.

The use of tape and video recorders has transformed the ancient practice of preserving history orally through legend, myth, and song into a new art of recording and, in part, creating primary information. This new oral history shares more attributes with printed history than its predecessor, especially in its immunity to change through retelling. Most researchers will gain access to oral history through printed transcripts with the exception of rhetoricians interested in oral delivery styles and linguists concerned with regional dialects and speech pathologies. Yet even though transcripts may be edited extensively, they retain unique characteristics of oral style. These include freedom from the organizational constraints of written forms and spontaneity enriched by constant interaction with another person. Oral records, by heightening the reflectiveness of traditional autobiography, provide valuable material for research in the human sciences.

My current interest is to understand the climate of consciousness within which several women, most of them national suffrage workers, worked for Anne Martin's campaign for the United States Senate in Nevada in 1918 and 1920. This research fits into the broader question of the consciousness with which women devoted their energies to reform and revolution in the early twentieth century. Although I have relied most heavily on correspondence, materials from the Regional Oral History Office in Berkeley have illuminated my search intensively.

The interviews are useful to me as complements to correspondence and other materials, especially when they clarify, amplify, or even contradict information from other



Sara Bard Field Wood spoke with one of the most eloquent voices in the woman suffrage movement. This photo was taken on her 1915 speaking tour which began in San Francisco with a donated car and ended 5,000 miles later at the White House with an 18,000-foot petition. Details of the harrowing three-month trip are recounted in her oral history memoir which is one of twelve interviews in the Suffragists Series.

sources. For example, suffragist-poet-writer Sara Bard Field's interview reveals some specific incidents related to her developing consciousness and provides unusually perceptive accounts of her subjective experience in suffrage and other reform work. The interview with Alice Paul, founder of the Woman's Party and life-long proponent of the Equal Rights Amendment, now in her nineties, includes much more of her personal views on woman's nature and suffrage movement aims than is inferable from her straightforward, formal correspondence. That she cites activist Rose Winslow's working class background to illustrate the variety of Woman's Party support while omitting Winslow's expressed feelings of discrimination as a working woman is suggestive of Paul's personal biases. Interviews with Alice Paul and Mabel Vernon, also active in, among other things, the Woman's Party, provide new information about Anne Martin's position among National Woman's Party leaders and allude more explicitly than their correspondence to tensions resulting from Martin's decision to run for the U.S. Senate before the Nineteenth Amendment was passed and ratified. Vernon also discusses the effect of her relationship with Martin on her choice of activities after suffrage. Several interviews give a fresh view of tactical and organizational choices—such as speaking on street corners and involving local leaders—in relationship to overall suffrage strategies. Of added interest to women's history is the way in which these interview situations occasionally capture a dynamic between two moments in the history of American feminism, such as the early twentieth-century feminism of the interviewee and the contemporary feminism of the interviewer.

The ROHO interviews with prominent suffragists and other reformers are in-depth explorations into events, explanations of behavior, and perceptions of persons and situations. Their thoroughness reflects informed planning and should deflate the nagging fear interviewers must have of unasked questions. Transcripts are edited carefully for accuracy and readability, but the researcher has access to the entire interview, including the interviewer's remarks. Although this form may produce more discontinuity and repetition than the written narrative form, it has many advantages for research in that one can assess the interviewer's impact on responses.

As reference materials, oral histories may suffer from inaccuracies of memory and distortions of perspective over time. Problems are minimized when the interviewer, the interviewee and, especially, the researcher, approach the materials with solid preparation. The time lapse also has its benefits. Information which might have been damaging at the time to individuals or causes, therefore unmentionable for reasons of diplomacy or public relations, can be related more candidly after years have passed.

A more fundamental, and unresolved, problem exists regarding the nature of oral history and its application. Oral history by definition focuses on the individual, and it has been used selectively to record memories of extraordinary persons. Yet as a form, it is particularly appropriate for capturing the experience of more ordinary persons who often lack the means, skills, and expectations necessary for recording their histories themselves. Studs Terkel departed from the "central figure" approach, with some success, in his published interviews with depression victims and a cross-section of workers. Staughton Lynd's oral history project involving Indiana steel workers and a few less-renowned local projects are paving the way for more systematic inclusion of masses of workers, minorities, and women in historical records. Regrettably, using oral history as a vehicle for articulating the experiences and concerns of the inarticulate is not the dominant trend in historical collecting. Archival institutions and their funding sources need to reconsider their priorities so that oral history can become not just a complement to other sources but a singularly important resource for social history.

KATHRYN ANDERSON

A writer's pride, one might expect, would keep him out of the attic headquarters of the University of California Regional Oral History Office, that inconspicuous research group tucked under the eaves of the main library on the Berkeley campus. Especially if that writer were at work on a subject alive and well and quite willing to be interviewed, he might think he had no need of the vast interview material on California subjects which have been collected and systematized by these "oral historians." But curiosity can overcome pride.

Last summer, when I was developing for *The Nation* magazine my article about Paul Taylor, that delightfully independent-minded agricultural economist who champions the small farm, I took to walking from his office on the Berkeley campus over to ROHO, to dip into their recently bound set of interviews with the same man.

After years of hearing about oral history, I decided to test its yield against my own interview perceptions. I began out of sheer curiosity. The enthusiasm of these scholars about their work is tempting. But I returned often. The aid this material provided astonished me.

Anyone who has interviewed at length has experienced the problem of forward pace



Professor Paul S. Taylor and ROHO-interviewer Malca Chall reviewed his papers in preparation for his oral history memoir. The three-volume memoir deals with his involvement with migrant labor, federal and state reclamation policies, community development projects abroad, and his collaboration with his wife, documentary photographer Dorothea Lange, on American Exodus: A Study in Human Erosion (1939). Photo by Catherine Harroun, 1973.

versus detailed accuracy. The subject has warmed up to one line of thought. He is talking easily. There emerges some particularly revealing recollection or, at long last, just the concept pertinent to the shape of your own work. The stumble comes when you realize you will not have time to re-walk this pathway again, so you must interrupt: how do you spell that name? can you be specific on that date?

Not all interviewees have the phenomenal memory which Dr. Taylor enjoys. But even he could be deflected by a question. It would turn him to his library, to pull out some old volume aflutter with research notes, in pursuit of an exact quotation. Our line of inquiry would hang in the air unfinished and disintegrating. A new dimension of freedom in these interviews developed when I discovered that the necessary specifics marched in orderly sequence through the work of ROHO's Suzanne Riess and Malca Chall, in their carefully prepared interview reports. They had earlier talked with Dr. Taylor in great detail, Ms. Riess on his early life and migrant farm-worker research when he traveled the country over with his photographer-wife, Dorothea Lange, Ms. Chall on the reclamation law and 160-acre limitation.

This does not mean that ROHO's work substitutes for your own. It can't. These free-flowing interviews, rich because they permit digressions, present a wide landscape. Your own path must have its separate structure. But this oral history gives a tone, a personal flavor, and an orientation which immensely lightens the writer's task. Of course the interviews and transcripts are particularly valuable in those cases where personal interviews are no longer possible. More and more scholars are discovering this growing collection of biographical material, recollections, and individual viewpoints from Californians who have been major factors in the life of the state the past half-century. It is my hope journalists will learn of it, too.

What oral history provides is a human link to history so lively and so pertinent to today as to be particularly comprehensible to journalists. Our California journalism could do with some dipping into history.

MARY ELLEN LEARY

Earl Warren at the 1948 Republican Convention: A Portion of the Transcript

Nearing completion at ROHO is an ambitious series of interviews entitled the Earl Warren Era in California, 1925-1953, which will consist of approximately 145 interviews and fifty volumes of transcripts. Interviewees have been selected on the basis of biographical familiarity with Warren, knowledge about governmental processes and issues, and importance as political figures and "movers" in a wide political spectrum.

The following excerpt is from an interview with Merrill F. Small, who served briefly as travel secretary to Governor Warren and then as departmental secretary until 1953. The interview was conducted by ROHO's Amelia Fry in a series of sessions in 1970-71. The subject of the transcript is the 1948 Republican nominating convention held in Chicago. Following Warren's loss of the presidential nomination to Thomas E. Dewey, discussed in the portion below, Warren was selected by the convention as Republican vice-presidential candidate.

Small: Well, we go to Thursday night, when they finally get around to balloting. First they have the rigamarole of speeches, resolutions, and stuff that they have got to go through, and then they get down to business, Thursday morning or Thursday afternoon—first ballot. Dewey was very strong on the first ballot, Taft was very strong. Warren was also-ran,

then there were a few scattered votes. Then there was a second ballot. Dewey was within something like 28 votes of going over on the second ballot.

And everybody, including us—we were watching it on television—expected that it would go immediately to a third vote, and the steam-roller would be on and there would be the end of it. But, this was probably a shrewd thing that his managers did—no, they moved to recess for dinner: give the poor opposition a chance to reform their lines, and so on, you know—this was a magnanimous gesture, Dewey was going to give them some time—a reprieve. So they recessed at six o'clock and went out to dinner with the agreement to come back at eight and they finally got going at 9:30—got the convention going again.

At this point, Bill Knowland, who was chairman of Warren's delegation, came to the suite with Kyle Palmer and Scoggins.

Fry: Who was chairman?

Small: Senator Knowland—William Fife Knowland, U.S. Senator—he was chairman of the delegation on the floor. And Warren wrote out, and I hope this document exists because this is historical in California: he wrote out in his own handwriting a statement releasing his delegation to Dewey, and said to Knowland—I think I was present when this happened—to get there first, and get up on that rostrum, and release California to Dewey—this would put us in a beautiful bargaining position; we'll put him over, we'll nominate him, the rest of them will be just also-rans.

Warren and I settled down before the television set before eight o'clock, because it was supposed to be at eight. We watched—the delegates were beginning to come into the auditorium, and there was all this milling around and confusion and stuff. I mixed a big double scotch and water for myself as well as him. And we sat there watching the thing. And then towards 9 o'clock, the California delegation went into the famous huddle—they compared it to a football huddle, and the camera was trained on it, and we watched it: Knowland in the middle and all the delegates who'd arrived there—most of them were there by this time—leaning over and listening to him as he read this statement the governor had written for him. This was the first they knew that they were being released, although, of course, they could figure it out, many of them, but you could see Margy Benedict crying, and you could see one of the men going like this as if he were cussing his lungs out, you know.

Fry: That's always a painful time.

Small: We watched this whole thing. And then they called the convention to order about 9:30, and by this time the auditorium floor was just jammed with people, and the television camera trained on Bill Knowland, fighting his way to the platform. He should have gotten there long before they called the convention to order—he should have been up there. They watched him, literally, just trying to shove his way through! Then they trained it on John Bricker, and this became a marathon.

Fry: A race!

Small: A footrace, and Bricker got up there first and released Ohio, Taft's delegation, to Dewey and it was all over by then! And Knowland had become an also-ran, and a second-guesser, and unimportant, and California just didn't have the bargaining position that Warren wanted them to have. And Dewey was nominated—unanimously, at that point.

The third ballot: Dewey was nominated, and we were sitting there in our shirt-sleeves with our double scotch in our hand. We were watching television, and there goes the presidency, maybe his last chance, to Dewey. Warren raised his glass and said, "Well, that's that!" That was his comment, he did nothing further. Just, "you can't win 'em all."

Book Reviews

THE AMERICAN WEST IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A SHORT HISTORY OF AN URBAN OASIS. By Gerald D. Nash. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973. viii, 312 pp. Illustrations. \$9.95 cloth, \$4.95 paper.)

Reviewed by MOSES RISCHIN, *professor of history at San Francisco State University.*

Gerald Nash has written an essential beginning survey-volume that, he modestly notes, "might serve much as a road map does in charting terrain that, although not wholly unfamiliar, is in many respects still largely untraversed." This first book on the twentieth-century American West by a professional historian and leading scholar of economic policy and development and of the trans-Mississippi West reflects the wide reading of a synthesizer devoted to every phase of his subject. As historian, teacher, and engaged observer and traveller, Nash has personally experienced in his most impressionable years the climax of the "westward tilt" of the post-World War Two era, the vantage point from which he derives his special perspective. From urban oases at Berkeley, Palo Alto, and more recently from the near mile-high mountain peak at Albuquerque, Nash has attempted in this book to take the measure of half a continent, not including Alaska and Hawaii, that accounts for well over two-thirds of the land area of the United States and, in the 1970's, over one-third of its population. Unlike many doubting native sons, Nash is emphatically certain that there is a twentieth-century West, indeed that it has become "America's barometer." Bounded by California and the Pacific Northwest on the ocean side and by the West North Central and West South Central states to the east, with the Mountain and Southwest states at the center, the twentieth-century West is seen as an integrated region. Yet, in the Nash synthesis, the geography of the twentieth-century West appears incidental. Indeed, the absence even of a single map in this book almost seems calculated to illustrate the irrelevance of place or region in any conventional sense. Nash's West is an endless horizon and natural setting, not a physical frontier. It is defined primarily by the high sophistication of its business organization, the lightness, precision, and high speed of its post-industrial technological culture, and the patterned mobility of its post-urban society. It is a phenomenon of the space age rather than of the wide open spaces, a post-Turnerian electronic region of instant communication, affluence, leisure, and the pleasures and pathologies of self-worship.

Clearly, this book is intended to arouse the concerned "westerner," particularly the Californian, to the contrasts between historic realities and popular illusions. It deserves a wide readership.

But many a historian and layman will dispute the validity of a West so distended and so elusive as this one, so devoid of the many private worlds of pre-World War Two "colonials," so divorced from a lingering sense of cultural and social complexity that San Francisco's "Sunny Jim" Rolph of the Mission is curiously identified as "a member of the 'Iowa Migration'!"

Like Earl Pomeroy's *The Pacific Slope*, Nash's volume is likely to be a point of departure for a rash of books to come. When a second edition appears, the publisher hopefully will not discourage the author from including population-density maps, migration, health, and social statistics tables, and graphs that will more amply illustrate the trends that Nash has sketched as well as the comparisons that stir a hunger for more.

REDWOODS AND REMINISCENCES. By Joseph D. Grant. (San Francisco: Save-the-Redwoods League and the Menninger Foundation, 1973. 230 pp. Illustrations. Index. n.p.)

Reviewed by DOUGLAS F. DAVIS, *editor of* Journal of Forest History, *Santa Cruz.*

Born in San Francisco in the tumultuous decade following the Gold Rush, Joseph Donahoe Grant, son of a prosperous Scot merchant, was one of that breed of hard-driving capitalists who helped generate a prosperous industrial base in early nineteenth-century California. *Redwoods and Reminiscences* is an autobiographical account of Grant's education, travels, business dealings, interests, and myriad personal friendships and acquaintances. Anecdotal and informal in style, Grant's narrative touches upon the events and people of his life and times with a romantic sentimentalism perhaps characteristic of the generous hindsight of the successful businessman of his time.

Although his primary financial interests and business obligations were tied to the development of hydroelectric power, oil, and steel production, Grant was appointed a life trustee of Stanford University at age thirty-three. In 1917 his interest in conservation was aroused through involvement with the Save-the-Redwoods League and its founders, Madison Grant, John C. Merriam, and Henry F. Osborn. It is for Joseph Grant's works in saving the redwoods, suggests Herman Phleger in the introduction, that he will be remembered.

Merriam, Osborn, Madison Grant, and others are appropriately credited by Joseph Grant for their brilliant and successful efforts to save large tracts of the giant coast redwoods through the Save-the-Redwoods League. Joseph Grant, himself, served first as vice-president, then president, and, finally, chairman of the League for nineteen years. His description of the League's activities is detailed and accurate. Unfortunately, by focusing only on the redwoods situation in California, Grant provides the mistaken impression that the Save-the-Redwoods League and its officers were bellwethers in alerting the nation to its conservation responsibilities beginning in 1917.

In actuality, the rise of a national conservation movement was well underway during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, who set aside 132 million acres of forest and park land during his term of office from 1901 to 1909. Cutover lands in the East and Midwest sparked a public outcry against excessive exploitation of American forests, and eminent national figures such as Gifford Pinchot, first chief of the U.S. Forest Service, warned against a possible timber famine. The activities of the Save-the-Redwoods League should be seen in the context of an already alerted and aroused national movement for conservation of American forests.

Underlying Grant's particular pride in the accomplishments of the Save-the-Redwoods League was the fact that large donations from private individuals were used to purchase redwood tracts at "just compensation" arrived at through "friendly negotiation" with private owners, creating minimal interference with the redwood lumber industry. In a letter to Madison Grant in December, 1921, Joseph Grant vigorously opposed federal assistance on the grounds that the "right to tax" involved "the right to destroy," and to encourage the use of federal tax money to purchase redwood lands would be tantamount to assisting the federal government in destroying private industry and initiative. In the context of this unrelenting faith in private enterprise and initiative, Grant acknowledged but refused to criticize lumbermen who were more interested in logging redwoods for profit than "friendly negotiation" with the Save-the-Redwoods League. On the other hand, Grant graciously acknowledged financial assistance from the State of California in acquiring redwood lands; perhaps state aid, in his view, was less destructive than federal aid.

It would be unrealistic to expect the memoir of a successful businessman, looking

back on a full career, to raise those objective and insightful questions of such interest to the professional historian. Grant's narrative will provide little information that the California historian or the conservation historian does not already know, except for the particular arrangement of detail unique to Grant's personal vision, which is certainly important. The editing of Lois C. Stone is delightfully inconspicuous, a sign of skill. The design and printing by Alfred and Lawton Kennedy are consistent with their usual high standards.

UNWANTED MEXICAN AMERICANS IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION: REPATRIATION PRESSURES, 1929-1939. By Abraham Hoffman. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974. xi, 207 pp. Illustrations. \$9.75 cloth, \$4.75 paper.)

Reviewed by CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *editor of the Reviews section of the Quarterly.*

There have been three large-scale forced migrations of minority-group members in California history. Two of them, the removal of Indians from their homelands in the 1850's and 1860's and the "relocation" of people of Japanese descent during the 1940's, have received a good deal of scholarly attention. The third, the repatriation to Mexico of thousands of Mexicans and Mexican Americans during the 1930's, has been largely ignored (except by two contemporaries of the event, Carey McWilliams and Robert McLean). Thus, Abraham Hoffman's book is a welcome contribution to the study of both the Chicano experience and the general social and ethnic structure of California.

Hoffman claims that about 500,000 people of Mexican descent left the United States for Mexico during the thirties. In the previous decade, California and the rest of the Southwest suffered a labor shortage, and Mexican immigration was generally encouraged, but the Depression caused a labor surplus, high unemployment, and heavy public-relief payments. Mexican labor was not needed, and unemployed Mexicans had to be fed by tax dollars; therefore, repatriation became the name of the game. Many of the *repatriados* left voluntarily, some attracted by return-to-Mexico campaigns of the Mexican government, but thousands were forced out by actions of official agencies north of the border. Federal authorities engaged in *ex post facto* enforcement of immigration laws and local officials threatened to cut off relief payments to immigrants who refused offers of free transportation to Mexico.

Hoffman concentrates his study on Los Angeles County and in the process may ignore important developments in other parts of the country. But the Los Angeles area does provide a valid case-study, since it had the largest concentration of Mexican population outside of Mexico City, and, at least before 1933, it was the scene of intense repatriation efforts by both federal and local authorities. Hoffman wisely includes a discussion of Mexican immigration and labor utilization in the United States before the 1930's, and he probably does as well as anyone can in making his way through the maze of conflicting statistics on repatriation itself. One of the book's greatest strengths is its coverage of the Mexican side of the repatriation issue, for unlike some recent writers, Hoffman realizes that Mexican American history is never isolated from events in Mexico.

The book's greatest fault is the lack of a comprehensive conclusion, one which links the repatriation of the thirties with the Bracero program of the forties and fifties and the post-war and contemporary controversies over "wetbacks" and "greencarders." But Hoffman's work is still a valuable scholarly contribution. Along with Walter Stein's recent *California and the Dust Bowl Migration* (see review in the Fall, 1973 *Quarterly*), it gives us new insight into the class and ethnic conflicts of Depression California.

THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF SAN MATEO COUNTY: THE REDUCED FACSIMILE OF A VOLUME ENTITLED . . . PUBLISHED IN 1878 BY MOORE AND DEPUE. (Woodside, Gilbert Richards Publications, 1974. 109 pp. Illustrations. \$24.00.)

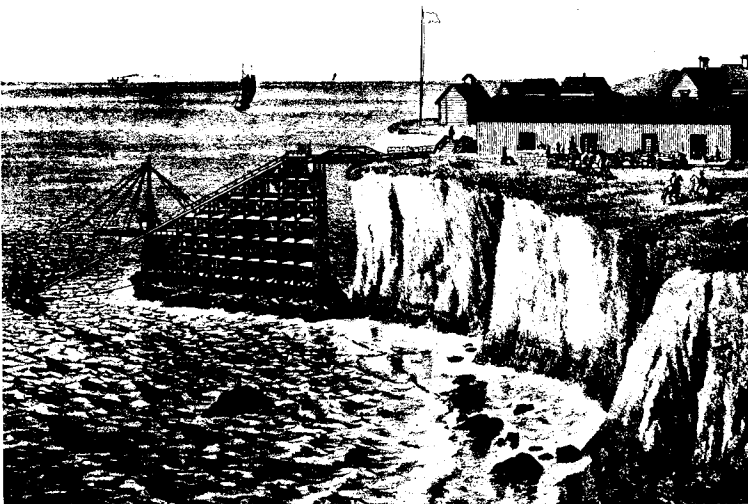
Reviewed by JAY WILLIAR, CHS Reference Librarian.

In California history literature, some of the most interesting, probably the most used, and undoubtedly the most charming items, are the county histories that were published in the 1870's and 1880's. Over the years these books have stood their ground and are still heavily used in local history studies.

The most recent reprint of this genre is Gilbert Richard's reduced facsimile of Moore and DePue's *The Illustrated History of San Mateo County . . .*, originally published in 1878. Mr. Richards has written an informative introduction to this edition which speculates on the origins of the volume. Also included are contemporary drawings and old maps pinpointing locations or former locations of some of the diverse properties illustrated.

Although the overall size of the volume has been reduced by roughly one third, the lithographs (originally done by Grafton T. Brown and Britton and Rey, well-known local nineteenth-century lithographers) are reduced only slightly, and, indeed, in several instances are larger than the originals.

By the 1870's the discovery of the process of lithography (in which grease crayon is applied to stone to produce a rapidly rendered, simple printing plate) permitted the mass production of inexpensive illustrated material, including county and city histories. The prosperous A. Gordon owned a ranch along the coast at San Gregorio where he operated "Gordon's Chute" (below) and wharf. Another San Mateo resident, Wm. Metzgar, resided at "Spanishtown" Half Moon Bay where he pruned trees and shrubs to produce this unusual botanical display (right).

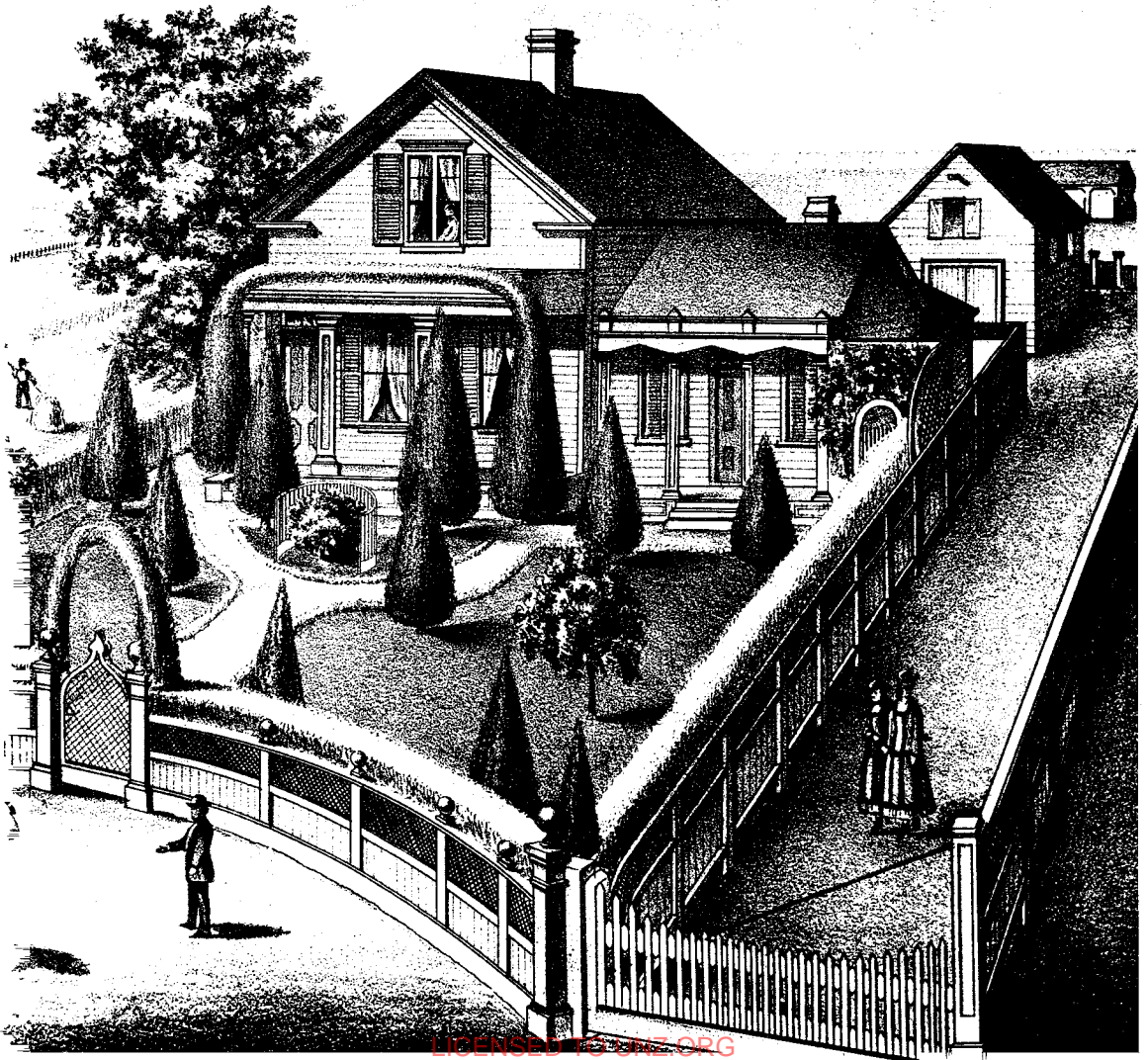


WE THREE CAME WEST: A TRUE CHRONICLE. Edited by Helen Raitt and Mary Collier Wayne. (San Diego: Tofua Press, 1974. xix, 250 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00.).

Reviewed by ANDREW ROLLE, *Robert Glass Cleland Professor of History at Occidental College, Los Angeles.*

"Wynate" is a wooden Victorian house that still stands on a hilltop in South Pasadena. Built in 1887 during the great Los Angeles County real estate boom, the place became the very center of life for Donald and Margaret Collier Graham, whose letters and memorabilia were discovered there only a few years ago. In a chatty way, the editors have done a skillful job of organizing and presenting their family's old letters which form the basis of this book.

Many of the letters unearthed by the editors possess the quality of a diary. The letter writers were alert young people, full of enthusiasm for the California to which they had come after graduating from Monmouth College in Illinois with the class of 1869. What emerges is a series of semi-literary memoirs, not intended for posterity. There is a vitality inherent in such diaries and letters that is almost impossible for later writers of secondary accounts to reproduce. First-person narratives can go beyond routine and perfunctory matters. Sprightly letters help readers to relive the times in which they were written.



The letters also remind us that in 1876—the Centennial year—Los Angeles was still a town of only some 13,000 inhabitants. Along with descriptions of land values (considered inflated at \$75 an acre) are documents regarding a Spanish land grant, Civil War reminiscences, love letters written before marriage, a plea for women's suffrage, and records of expenses for wood, milk, and shelters for the family horses.

The young persons who wrote these letters cultivated a circle of literary friends who visited "Wynyate." Among these were John Muir (who planted a eucalyptus tree on the grounds), California's poet laureate Ina Coolbrith, Kate Douglas Wiggin, and T. S. Van Dyke. Margaret Graham was herself the author of four books written in later years between 1895 and 1912.

In short, the editors have shown what can be done by splicing together memorabilia long forgotten in family attics. Excellent photographs help to recapture the times described. The book lacks an index.

THE MEXICAN WAR, 1846-1848. By K. Jack Bauer. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974. iii, 454 pp. Photos, maps. \$14.95.)

Reviewed by COL. WILLIAM F. STROBRIDGE, *author of several articles on the Army in California.*

K. Jack Bauer's *The Mexican War, 1846-1848* describes from an American view the galaxy of events that led to a conflict with Mexico, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and, incidentally, the acquisition of Alta California. Bauer believes it is time for a new interpretation of occurrences previously well described in 1910 by Justin Smith's two volume account of the Mexican War. He proceeds to paint a wide sweep of battle and diplomacy, orchestrated in Washington by President Polk but often misinterpreted in the field by American officials and the Mexican government. Zack Taylor's Army of Observation went to Corpus Christie when, by Bauer's account, most reports reaching the United States capital were wrong on Mexican desires to negotiate. Killing started with Mexican ambushes of scouting parties from Taylor's force, a span of activity in his narrative that the author compares with the undeclared war in Viet Nam.

Bauer agrees with Justin Smith that hostilities with Mexico were unavoidable and that the United States never understood Mexican nationalism. He sets forth a picture of a Congress failing to allot travel funds with which volunteers could journey to federal rendezvous points and of ill-disciplined, anti-Catholic men from state regiments invading northern Mexico in 1846. Santa Anna gambled and lost in northern Mexico. Thereafter American military efforts to force Mexican peace negotiations shifted south.

At Vera Cruz Winfield Scott, whose likeness stares from the Presidio Museum's wall, cut loose from the Gulf and advanced to Mexico City. The "Star Spangled Banner" was played by Navy bands at the Vera Cruz landing. On the beaches, the Army launched rockets against Mexican defenders. Bauer parallels Scott's audacious march to the Mexican capital with MacArthur at Inchon a century later.

The author states that in 1846-47, as in 1966-68, Americans were ready for a quick war, yet abhorred a long war. In Mexico, American envoy Trist ignored Polk's recall instructions. Instead, he remained on the spot and negotiated the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, awarding Mexican territory to the United States which, Bauer says, only heightened sectional conflict within both countries.

California history buffs may be disappointed by the twenty-seven pages devoted to Alta California operations plus eight pages on the campaign in Baja California. Some

will question the author's description of Gillespie hastening after Frémont in 1846, when in an earlier publication Mrs. Ord records Larkin giving a ball at Monterey in honor of the mysterious Marine officer. No mention is made by Bauer of Frémont shooting out of hand three rancheros that his party near Suisun Bay mistook for Castro's men.

Another item of local interest unclarified in the pages of *The Mexican War* is the intelligence value of Larkin's reports to Secretary of State Buchanan. Larkin's descriptive despatches from Monterey are of great value to historians. Still, he lacked an organized communications system, and most of the reports from Larkin to the State Department were an untimely three months to a year in transit.

The Mexican War supplies readers with a good overview of 1846-48 and, along with Robert Utley's books in the same series which deal with the Army on the frontier, furnishes solid background for more specialized reading. Bauer provides notes at the end of each chapter plus a thirty-eight-page bibliography.

THE HARDROCK MINERS: A HISTORY OF THE MINING LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE AMERICAN WEST, 1863-1893. By Richard E. Lingenfelter. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1974. viii, 292 pp. Illustrations. \$12.50.)

Reviewed by HYMAN WEINTRAUB, *professor of history at East Los Angeles College.*

Hardrock miners are not a new musical group. They are the men who toiled underground in over hundred-degree heat to mine gold and silver. In a delightful opening chapter, the author describes the life of the hardrock miner who works long hours under hazardous conditions for very little pay. He lives in filthy boarding houses—a virtual prisoner of the mining company. There is no doubt from this opening chapter that the author's sympathies are with the exploited miner.

The evidence confirms the author's thesis that unionization of the hardrock miners was the result of the mechanization of mining. Placer mining had required a shovel and a pan. The placer miner toiled long hours with little return for his labor, but he toiled for himself. He was his own master. Quartz mining required expensive machinery, heavy capital investment—and cheap labor. To minimize their exploitation, the men organized unions. When they discovered that reason and compassion did not move the mine owners, they resorted to violence. That violence was not related to the unsettled lawlessness of the frontier West. In fact, the unions were successful in achieving their demands peacefully when there was little law because the miners were the law. In the beginning the sheriff and his deputies were miners, so that the law was the law of the mine workers. As the West became more stable, the law came to represent the vested economic interests. When troops were used to thwart the aspirations of the miners and to promote the interests of the mine owners, the miners responded with violence.

Dr. Lingenfelter has sifted through an enormous volume of material to produce this tightly knit story of the unions which ultimately created the Western Federation of Miners. The story is told with compassion so that "\$4 per day" is not a statistic, but a symbol of man's struggle for dignity. Unfortunately, the book is too short, and the records are too incomplete to bring to life many of the leaders of those early unions. It does, however, bring us the humor and pathos which went into the victories and defeats of the union of hardrock miners.

California Check List

JAY WILLIAR, *Reference librarian*

The purpose of this list is to provide our readers with an on-going bibliography of recently published or soon-to-be-published Californiana. Major publishing firms' nationally-distributed products, small local history groups' limited editions, and individuals' efforts all are welcome. We ask only that the books or booklets concern the California scene and be recent publications (1974 or later, although some reprints will be accepted as space permits and significance demands).

We particularly desire to list publications which would not be well advertised elsewhere, works more likely to be publicized by word-of-mouth than by an organized publicity campaign. Hence, we are dependent to a considerable degree on the response of our readers. If you know of a recent unlisted publication on California, please notify the compiler of this check list. Be sure to include the following basic bibliographic data: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price. If the item is a limited edition published by an individual or small group, include the address where the book can be purchased and any special ordering instructions. Send this information to Jay Williar, Reference Librarian, California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco, CA 94109. This listing in the *Quarterly* is, of course, free of charge.

Ansel Adams: *Images 1923-1974*. Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1974. \$75.00. 128 pp. Photolithographic reproductions.

Automobile Club of Southern California. *Baja, California: A Guide*. Los Angeles: The Club, [1974]. 132 pp. Illustrations.

Automobile Club of Southern California. *The Mother Lode*. Los Angeles: The Club, 1974. 63 pp. The Club, Box 2890, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, CA 90051.

Bean, Lowell J., and Thomas E. King, editors. *California Indian Political and Economic Organization*. Ramona: Ballena Press, 1974. \$5.50. 177 pp. Maps, charts. Publisher, P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065.

Boyarski, Bill and Nancy. *Backroom Politics*. Los Angeles: Tarcher Books, 1974. \$8.95. 330 pp.

Casebier, Dennis G. *Fort Pah-Ute California*. Norco: Tales of the Mohave Road Publishing Company, [c1974]. \$7.50. 136 pp. Illustrations, maps. Publisher, P.O. Box 307, Norco, CA 91760.

Cox, Thomas R. *Mills and Markets: A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974. \$17.50. 500 pp. Illustrations.

Clover, Herman A. *Haytime*. Burlingame: Hesperia Press, 1974. \$5.95. 86 pp. Publisher, Box 1583, Burlingame, CA 94010.

Crosby, Harry. *The King's Highway in Baja, California*. San Diego: Copley Books, 1974. \$14.50. 190 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, P.O. Box 270, San Diego, CA 92112.

Dickensheer, Dean W., editor. *Great Crimes of*

San Francisco. New York: Comstock Editions. 1974. \$1.75.

Doss, Margot Patterson. *San Francisco at your Feet*. New York: Grove Press [1974]. Reprint, \$2.95. 200 pp. Illustrations.

Early California [Northern Edition] and [*Southern Edition*]. Corvallis: Western Gulch Publishers, c1974. \$6.50, each. 76 pp. each. Maps. Illustrations. Publisher, P.O. Box 1013, Corvallis, OR 97330.

Findley, W. H. *The Rodeo and Tales of Pioneer Life in California*. Arroya Grande: Hubbard Printing. 1973. \$3.50. 62 pp. Publisher, 1009 Grand Avenue, Arroya Grande, CA 93420.

Freudenheim, Leslie Mandelson and Elizabeth and Sacks Sussman. *Building with Nature*. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith. 1974. \$12.95. Illustrations.

Gilbert, Eugene. *Orange County's Past in Pencil*. Santa Ana: First American Title Insurance Company [1974]. \$2.50. Drawings. Publisher, P.O. Box 267, Santa Ana, CA 92702.

The Gold Mines of California. New York: Promontory Press, 1974. Reprint of F. Robinson's *California and Its Golden Region*, published in 1849, and, of F. Street's *California in the 1850's*, published in 1851. 137 pp., 88 pp.

Gunter, Norman. *A Diamond for Moorpark*. Moorpark: Moorpark Chamber of Commerce, 1974. \$15.00. Illustrations. Publisher, P.O. Box 296, Moorpark, CA 93021.

Hansen, Arthur A., and Betty E. Mitson, editors. *Voices Long Silent*. Fullerton: California State University, Fullerton, 1974. \$7.50. Author, Department of History, California

- State University, Fullerton, Fullerton, CA 92634.
- Hedgpeth, Nellie McGraw. *My Early Days in San Francisco*. San Francisco: The Victorian Alliance, c1974. \$3.70. 53 pp. Publisher, 4143 23rd Street, San Francisco, CA 94114.
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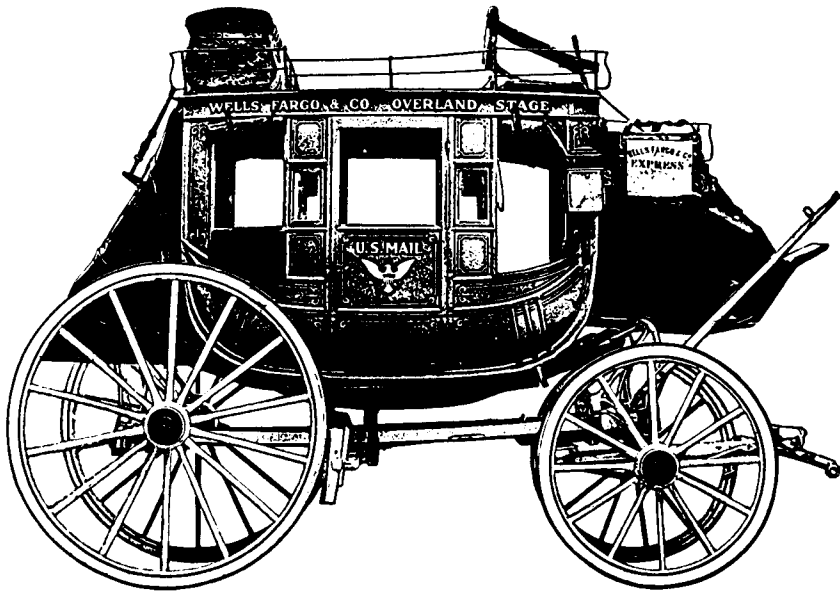
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